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OLD SOUTH LEAFLETS.

General Series

VOLUME III.

51-75.

BOSTON:
DIRECTORS OF THE OLD SOUTH WORK.
OLD SOUTH MEETING HOUSE.

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New England's First Fruits:

IN RESPECT OF THE COLLEDGE, AND
THE PROCEEDINGS OF *LEARN-*
ING THEREIN.

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After God had carried us safe to *New England*, and wee had builded our houses, provided necessaries for our liveli-hood, rear'd convenient places for Gods worship, and fetled the Civill Government: One of the next things we longed for, and looked after was to advance *Learning*, and perpetuate it to Posterity, dreading to leave an illiterate Ministry to the Churches, when our present Ministers shall lie in the Dust. And as wee were thinking and consulting how to effect this great Work; it pleased God to stir up the heart of one Mr. *Harvard* (a godly Gentleman and a lover of Learning, there living amongst us) to give the one halfe of his Estate (it being in all about 1700. l.) towards the erecting of a Colledge, and all his Library: after him another gave 300. l. others after them cast in more, and the publique hand of the State added the rest: the Colledge was, by common consent, appointed to be at *Cambridge*, (a place very pleasant and accomodate and is called (according to the name of the first founder) *Harvard Colledge*.)

The Edifice is very faire and comely within and without, having in it a spacious Hall; (where they daily meet at Commons, Lectures, Exercises) and a large Library with some Bookes to it, the gifts of diverse of our friends, their Chambers and studies also fitted for, and possessed by the Students, and all other roomes of Office necessary and convenient, with all needfull Offices thereto belonging: And by the side of the Colledge a faire *Grammar Schoole*, for the training up of young Schollars, and fitting of them for *Academicall Learning*, that still as they are judged ripe, they may be received into the Colledge of this Schoole. Master *Corlet* is the Mr., who hath

very well approved himfelfe for his abilities, dexterity and painfullneffe in teaching and education of the youth under him.

Over the Colledge is mafter *Dunfter* placed, as Prefident, a learned confcionable and induftrious man, who has fo trained up his Pupills in the tongues and Arts, and fo feafoned them with the principles of Divinity and Chriftianity that we have to our great comfort, (and in truth) beyond our hopes, beheld their progrefse in Learning and godlineffe alfo; the former of thefe hath appeared in their publique declamations in *Latine* and *Greeke*, and Difputations Logicall and Philofophicall, which they have beene wonted (befides their ordinary Exercifes in the Colledge-Hall) in the audience of the Magiftrates, Minifters, and other Schollars, for the probation of their growth in Learning, upon fet dayes, constantly once every moneth to make and uphold: The latter hath been manifested in fundry of them by the favoury breathings of their Spirits in their godly converfation. Infomuch that we are confident, if thefe early bloffomes may be cherifhed and warmed with the influence of the friends of Learning, and lovers of this pious worke, they will by the help of God, come to happy maturity in a fhort time.

Over the Colledge are twelve Overfeers chosen by the generall Court, fix of them are of the Magiftrates, the other fix of the Minifters, who are to promote the beft good of it, and (having a power of influence into all perfons in it are to fee that every one be diligent and proficient in his proper place.

2. *Rules, and Precepts that are observed in the Colledge.*

1. When any Schollar is able to underftand *Tully*, or fuch like clafficall *Latine* Author *extempore*, and make and fpeake true *Latine* in Verfe and Profe, *fuo ut aiunt Marte*; And decline perfectly the Paradigim's of *Nounes* and *Verbes* in the *Greek* tongue: Let him then and not before be capable of admiffion into the Colledge.

2. Let every Student be plainly instructed, and earnestly preffed to confider well, the maine end of his life and ftudies is, *to know God and Iefus Chrift which is eternall life*, Joh. 17. 3. and therefore to lay *Chrift* in the bottome, as the only foundation of all found knowledge and Learning.

And feeing the Lord only giveth wifedome, Let every one ferioufly fet himfelfe by prayer in fecret to feeke it of him *Prov* 2, 3.

3. Every one fhall fo exercife himfelfe in reading the Script-

ures twice a day, that he shall be ready to give such an account of his proficiency therein, both in *Theoretticall* observations of the Language, and *Logick*, and in *Practicall* and spirituall truths, as his Tutor shall require, according to his ability; seeing *the entrance of the word giveth light, it giveth understanding to the simple*, Psalm. 119. 130.

4. That they eschewing all profanation of Gods Name, Attributes, Word, Ordinances, and times of Worship, doe studie with good conscience, carefully to retaine God, and the love of his truth in their mindes else let them know, that (notwithstanding their Learning) God may give them up *to strong delusions*, and in the end *to a reprobate minde*, 2 Thes. 2. 11, 12. Rom. 1. 28.

5. That they studiously redeeme the time; observe the generall houres appointed for all the Students, and the speciall houres for their owne *Classis*: and then dilligently attend the Lectures without any disturbance by word or gesture. And if in any thing they doubt, they shall enquire as of their fellowes, so, (in case of *Non satisfaction*) modestly of their Tutors.

6. None shall under any pretence whatsoever, frequent the company and society of such men as lead an unfit, and dissolute life.

Nor shall any without his Tutors leave, or (in his absence) the call of Parents or Guardians, goe abroad to other Townes.

7. Every Schollar shall be present in his Tutors chamber at the 7th. houre in the morning, immediately after the sound of the Bell, at his opening the Scripture and prayer, so also at the 5th. houre at night, and then give account of his owne private reading, as aforesaid in Particular the third, and constantly attend Lectures in the Hall at the houres appointed? But if any (without necessary impediment) shall absent himself from prayer or Lectures, he shall bee lyable to Admonition, if he offend above once a weeke.

8. If any Schollar shall be found to transgresse any of the Lawes of God, or the Schoole, after twice Admonition, he shall be lyable, if not *adultus*, to correction, if *adultus*, his name shall be given up to the Overseers of the Colledge, that he may bee admonished at the publick monethly Act.

3. *The times and order of their Studies, unlesse experience shall show cause to alter.*

The second and third day of the weeke, read Lectures, as followeth.

To the first yeare at 8th. of the clock in the morning *Logick*, the first three quarters, *Physicks* the last quarter.

To the second yeare at the 9th. houre, *Ethicks* and *Politicks*, at convenient distances of time.

To the third yeare at the 10th. *Arithmetick* and *Geometry*, the three first quarters, *Astronomy* the last.

Afternoone.

The first yeare disputes at the second houre.

The 2d. yeare at the 3d. houre.

The 3d. yeare at the 4th. every one in his Art.

The 4th. day reads Greeke.

To the first yeare the *Etymologie* and *Syntax* at the eighth houre.

To the 2d. at the 9th. houre, *Profodia* and *Dialects*.

Afternoone.

The first yeare at 2d houre practice the precepts of *Grammar* in such Authors as have variety of words.

The 2d. yeare at 3d. houre practice in *Poësy*, *Novus*, *Duport*, or the like.

The 3d yeare perfect their *Theory* before noone, and exercise *Style*, *Composition*, *Imitation*, *Epitome*, both in Prose and Verse, afternoone.

The fift day reads Hebrew, and the Easterne Tongues.

Grammar to the first yeare houre the 8th.

To the 2d. *Chaldee* at the 9th. houre.

To the 3d. *Syriack* at the 10th. houre.

Afternoone.

The first yeare practice in the Bible at the 2d. houre.

The 2d. in *Ezra* and *Daniel* at the 3d. houre.

The 3d. at the 4th. houre in *Trestius* New Testament.

The 6th. day reads Rhetorick to all at the 8th. houre.

Declamations at the 9th. So ordered that every Scholler may declaime once a moneth. The rest of the day *vacat Rhetoricis studiis.*

*The 7th. day reads Divinity Catecheticall at the 8th houre,
Common places at the 9th. houre.
Afternoone.*

The first houre reads history in the Winter,
The nature of plants in the Summer.

The fumme of every Lecture shall be examined before the new Lecture be read.

Every Schollar that on prooffe is found able to read the Originalls of the *Old* and *New Testament* into the Latine tongue, and to resolve them *Logically*; withall being of godly life and conversation; And at any publick Act hath the Approbation of the Overseers and Master of the Colledge, is fit to be dignified with his first Degree.

Every Schollar that giveth up in writing a *System*, or *Synopsis*, or fumme of *Logick*, Naturall and Morall *Phylosophy*, *Arithmetick*, *Geometry* and *Astronomy*: and is ready to defend his *Theses* or positions: withall skilled in the Originalls as abovesaid: and of godly life & conversation: and so approved by the Overseers and Master of the Colledge, at any publique Act, is fit to be dignified with his 2d. Degree.

4. *The manner of the late Commencement, expressed in a Letter sent over from the Governour, and diverse of the Ministers, their own words these.*

The Students of the first Classis that have beene these foure yeeres trained up in Univerſity-Learning (for their ripening in the knowledge of the Tongues and Arts) and are approved for their manners as they have kept their publick Acts in former yeeres, our selves being present, at them; so have they lately kept two ſolemne Acts for their Commencement, when the Governour, Magiſtrates, and the Miniſters from all parts, with all ſorts of Schollars, and others in great numbers were preſent, and did heare their Exercises; which were Latine and Greeke Orations, and Declamations and Hebrew Analyſis Grammaticall, Logicall & Rhetoricall of the Pſalms: And their Answers and Diſputations in Logicall, Ethicall, Phyſicall

and Metaphysicall Questions; and so were found worthy of the first degree, (commonly called Batchelour) pro more Academiarum in Anglia: Being first presented by the President to the Magistrates and Ministers, and by him, upon their Approbation, solemnly admitted unto the same degree, and a Booke of Arts delivered into each of their hands, and power given them to read Lectures in the Hall upon any of the Arts, when they shall be thereunto called, and a liberty of studying in the Library.

All things in the Colledge are at present, like to proceed even as wee can wish, may it but please the Lord to goe on with his blessing in Christ, and stir up the hearts of his faithfull, and able Servants in our owne Native Country, and here, (as he hath graciously begun) to advance this Honourable and most hopefull worke. The beginnings whereof and progresse hitherto (generally) doe fill our hearts with comfort, and raise them up to much more expectation, of the Lords goodnesse for hereafter, for the good of posterity, and the Churches of Christ Iesus.

Boston in New-England,

September the 26.

1642.

Your very loving

friends, &c.

A Copie of the Questions given and maintained by the *Commencers* in their publick Acts, printed in *Cambridge in New-England*, and reprinted here *verbatim*, as followeth.

SPECTATISSIMIS

Spectatissimis Pietate, et Illustrissimis Eximia virtute Viris, D. Iohanni Winthropo, inclytæ Massachusetti Coloniae Gubernatori, D. Iohanni Endicotto Vice Gubernatori, D. Thom. Dudleo, D. Rich. Bellinghamo, D. Ioan. Humphrydo, D. Israel. Stoughtono.

Nec non Reverendis pientissimisque viris Ioanni Cottono, Ioan. Wilsono, Ioan. Davenport, Tho. Weldo. Hugoni Petro, Tho.

Shepardo, Collegij *Harvardensis* nov. *Cantabr.* inspectoribus fidelissimis, cæterisq; Magistratibus, & Ecclesiarum eiusdem Coloniae Presbyteris vigilantissimis,

Has Theses Philologicas, & Philosophicas quas Deo duce, Præfide *Henrico Dunstero* palam pro virili propugnare conabuntur, (honoris & observantiæ gratia) dicant consecrantque in artibus liberalibus initiati Adolēscētes.

Benjamin Woodbrigius.
Georgius Downingus.
Gulielmus Hubbardus.
Iohannes Bulkleius.
Henricus Saltonstall.

Iohannes Wilsonus.
Nathaniel Brusterus.
Samuel Bellinghamus.
Tobias Barnardus.

Theses Philologicas

GRAMMATICAS.

Linguarum Scientia est utilissima.

Literæ non exprimunt quantum vocis Organa efferunt.

3. Hæbræa est Linguarum Mater.

4. Consonantes & vocales Hæbreorum sunt coætaneæ.

5. Punctationes chatephatæ syllabam proprie non efficiunt.

6. Linguarum Græca est copiosissima.

7. Lingua Græca est ad accentus pronuntianda.

8. Lingua Latina est eloquentissima.

RHETORICAS.

Rhetorica specie differt a Logica.

In Elocutione perspicuitati cedit ornatus, ornatui copia.

3. Actio primas tenet in pronuntiatione.

4. Oratoris est celare Artem.

LOGICAS.

Universalia non sunt extra intellectum.

Omnia Argumenta sunt relata.

3. Causa *sine qua non* non est peculiaris causa a quatuor reliquis generalibus,

4. Causa & Effectus sunt simul tempore.

5. Dissentanea sunt æque nota.

6. Contrarietas est tantum inter duo.

7. Sublato relato tollitur correlatum.
 8. Genus perfectum æqualiter communicatur speciebus.
 9. Testimonium valet quantum testis.
 10. Elenchorum doctrina in Logica non est necessaria.
 11. Axioma contingens est, quod ita verum est, ut aliquando falsum esse possit.
 13. Præcepta Artium debent esse Κατὰ πάντος. καθ' αὐτο, καθ' ὅλῃ ὥρῳ τον.
-

Theses Philosophicas.

ETHICAS.

- Philosophia practica est eruditions meta.
 Actio virtutis habitum antecellit.
3. Voluntas est virtutis moralis subiectum.
 4. Voluntas est formaliter libera.
 5. Prudentia virtutum difficillima.
 6. Prudentia est virtus intellectualis & moralis.
 7. Iustitia mater omnium virtutum.
 8. Mors potius subeunda quam aliquid culpæ perpetrandum.
 9. Non injuste agit nisi qui libens agit.
 10. Mentiri potest qui verum dicit.
 11. Juveni modestia summum Ornamentum.

PHYSICAS.

- Corpus naturale mobile est subiectum Phisicæ.
 Materia secunda non potest existere sine forma.
3. Forma est accidens.
 4. Unius rei non est nisi unica forma constitutiva.
 5. Forma est principium individuationis.
 6. Privatio non est principium internum.
 7. Ex meris accidentibus non fit substantia.
 8. Quicquid movetur ab alio movetur.
 9. In omni motu movens simul est cum mobili.
 10. Cælum non movetur ab intelligentijs.
 11. Non dantur orbes in cælo.
 12. Quodlibet Elementum habet unam ex primis qualitatibus sibi maximè propriam.
 13. Putredo in humido fit a calore externo.
 14. Anima non fit ex traduce.
 15. Vehemens sensibile destruit sensum.

METAPHISICAS.

Omne ens est bonum.

Omne creatum est concretum.

3. Quicquid æternum idem & immensum.

4. Bonum Metaphysicum non suscipit gradus.

Thus farre hath the good hand of God favoured our beginnings; see whether he hath not engaged us to wait still upon his goodnesse for the future, by such further remarkable passages of his providence to our Plantation in such things as these:

1. In sweeping away great multitudes of the Natives by the small Pox, a little before we went thither, that he might make room for us there.

2. In giving such merveilous safe Passage from first to last, to so many thousands that went thither, the like hath hardly been ever observed in any Sea-voyages.

3. In blessing us generally with health and strength, as much as ever (we might truly say) more than ever in our Native Land; many that were tender and sickly here, are stronger and heartier there. That whereas diverse other Plantations have been the graves of their Inhabitants and their numbers much decreased: God hath so prospered the climate to us, that our bodies are hailer, and Children there born stronger, whereby our number is exceedingly increased.

4. In giving us such peace and freedome from enemies, when almost all the world is on a fire that (excepting that short trouble with the Pequits) we never heard of any found of Warres to this day. And in that Warre which we made against them Gods hand from heaven was so manifested, that a very few of our men in a short time pursued through the Wildernesse, slew and took prisoners about 1400 of them, even all they could find, to the great terrour and amazement of all the Indians to this day: so that the name of the Pequits (as of *Amaleck*) is blotted out from under heaven, there being not one that is, or, (at least) dare call himselfe a Pequit.

5. In subduing those erroneous opinions carryed over from hence by some of the Passengers, which for a time infested our Churches peace but (through the goodnesse of God) by conference preaching, a generall assembly of learned men. Magistrates timely care and lastly, by Gods own hand from heaven, in most remarkable stroaks upon some of the chief fomenters of them; the matter came to such an happie conclusion, that most of the seduced came humbly and confessed their Errours in our

publique Affemblies and abide to this day constant in the Truth; the rest (that remained obstinate) finding no fit market there to vent their wares, departed from us to an Iland farre off; some of whom also since that time, have repented and returned to us, and are received againe into our bosomes. And from that time not any unfound, unfavourie and giddie fancie have dared to lift up his head, or abide the light amongst us.

6. In settling and bringing civil matters to such a maturity in a short time amongst us having planted 50 Townes and Villages built 30. or 40. Churches, and more Ministers houses; a Castle, a Colledge, Prisons, Forts, Cartwaies, Causeies many, and all these upon our owne charges no publique hand reaching out any helpe: having comfortable Houses, Gardens, Orchards, Grounds fenced, Corne fields &c. and such a forme and face of a Commonwealth appearing in all the Plantation, that Strangers from other parts, seeing how much is done in so few yeares, have wondered at Gods blessing on our indeavours.

7. In giving such plenty of all manner of Food in a Wildernesse insomuch, that all kinds of Flesh amongst the rest, store of Venison in its season. Fish both from Sea and Fresh water. Fowle of all kinds, wild & tame; store of Whit-Meale, together with all sorts of English Graine, aswell as Indian, are plentifull amongst us; as also Rootes, Herbs and Fruit, which being better digested by the Sun, are farre more faire pleasant and wholesome than here.

8. In prospering Hempe and Flaxe so well, that its frequently sown, spun, and woven into linnen Cloath: (and in a short time may serve for Cordage) and so with Cotton-Wooll, (which we may have at very reasonable rates from the Islands) and our linnen Yarne, we can make Dimittees and Fustions for our Summer cloathing. And having a matter of 1000. Sheep, which prosper well, to begin withall, in a competent time we hope to have wollen Cloath there made. And great and small Cattell, being now very frequently killd for food; their skins will afford us Leather for Boots and Shoes, and other uses: so that God is leading us by the hand into a way of cloathing.

9. In affording us many materialls, (which in part already are, and will in time further be improved) for Staple commodities, to supply all other defects: As

1. Furres, Bever, Otter, &c.
2. Clapboord, Hoops, Pipestaves, Mafts.
3. English Wheat and other graine for *Spaine* and West Indies; and all other provisions for Victualling of Shippes.

4. Fish, as Cod, Haddock, Herrings, Mackerill, Basse, Sturgeon, Seales, Whales, Sea-horse.

5. Oyle of fundry sorts, of Whale, Sea-horse, &c.

6. Pitch and Tarre, Rofen and Turpentine, having Pines, Spruce, and Pitch-trees in our Countrey to make these on.

7. Hempe and Flaxe.

8. Mineralls discovered and proved, as of Iron in fundry places, Black-lead (many other in hopes) for the improving of which, we are now about to carry over Servants and instruments with us.

9. (Besides many Boates, Shallops, Hows, Lighters, Pinnaces) we are in a way of building Shippes, of an 100, 200, 300. 400. tunne, five of them are already at Sea; many more in hand at this present, we being much encouraged herein by reason of the plenty and excellencie of our Timber for that purpose, and seeing all the materialls will be had there in short time.

10. In giving of such Magistrates, as are all of them godly men, and members of our Churches, who countenance those that be good, and punish evill doers, that a vile person dares not lift up his head; nor need a godly man to hang it down, that (to Gods praise be it spoken) one may live there from yeare to yeare, and not see a drunkard, heare an oath, or meet a beggar. Now where sinne is punished, and judgment executed, God is wont to blesse that place, and protect it, *Psa.* 106. 30, *Ier.* 5. 1, *Iof.* 7. 25 with 8. 1. *e contra Esa.* 20 21.

11. In storing that place with very many of his own people, and diverse of them eminent for godlinesse. Now where his people are, there is his presence, and Promise *to be in the midst of them, a mighty God to save, and to joy over them with singing,* *Zeph.* 3. 17.

12. Above all our other blessings, in planting *his own Name*, and *precious Ordinances*, among us; (we speak it humbly, and in his feare) our indeavour is to have all his own Institutions, and no more then his own and all those in their native simplicity without any humane dressings; having a liberty to injoy all that God Commands and yet urged to nothing more than he Commands. Now *Where soever he records his Name, thither he will come and blesse,* *Ex.* 20 24.

Which promise he hath already performed to very many soules in their effectuall conversion to Christ, and the edification of others in their holy Faith, who daily blesse God that ever he carried them into those parts.

All which blessings named we looke upon, as an earnest-penny of more to come. If we seeke his face, and serve his

Providence, wee have no cause to doubt, that he for his part will faile to make feasonable supplies unto us.

1. By some meanes to carry on to their perfection our staple trades begun.

2. By Additions of Ammunition and Powder

3. By maintenance of Schooles of Learning especially the Colledge, as also additions of building to it and furnishing the Library.

4. By stirring up some well-minded to cloath and transport over poore children Boyes and Girles, which may be a great mercy to their bodies and soules, and a help to us, they being super abundant here, and we wanting hands to carry on our trades, manufacture and husbandry there.

5. By stirring up some to shew mercy to the *Indians*, in affording maintenance to some of our godly active young Schollars, there to make it their worke to studie their Language converse with them and carry light amongst them, that so the Gospell might be spread into those darke parts of the world.

Ob. But all your own cost and ours also will be lost, because there can be no subsistence there for any long time. For,

1. Your ground is barren,

Ans. 1. If you should see our goodly Cornfields, neere harvest, you would answer this yourselfe. Secondly, how could it be thin, that we should have *English* Wheat at 4. s. *per* bushell, and *Indian* at 2.8. and this not only for ready money, but in way of exchange. Thirdly, that in a wildernesse in so few yeares, we should have corne enough for ourselves and our friends that come over, and much to spare.

2. *Obj.* Your ground will not continue above 3. or 4 yeares to beare corne.

Ans. Our ground hath been sowne and planted with corne these 7. 10. 12. yeares already by our selves, and (which is more than can be said here of *English* Land (never yet summer tild: but have borne corne, every yeare since we first went, and the same ground planted as long by the *Indians* before, and yet have good crops upon it still, and is like to continue as ever: But this is, (as many other flanders against that good Land) against all sense, reason and experience.

3. *Obj.* But you have no money there.

Ans. It's true we have not much, though some there is, but wee having those staple commodities named, they will (still as they are improved) fetch money from other parts. Ships, Fish, Iron, Pipestaves, Corn, Bever, Oyle, &c. will help us with money and other things also.

2. Little money is raised in coyne in *England*, how then comes it to abound, but by this meane?

3. We can trade amongst our selves by way of exchange, one commodity for another, and so doe usually.

4. *Obj.* You are like to want clothes hereafter.

Answ. 1. Linnen, Fustians Dimettees we are making already. Secondly, Sheepe are coming on for woollen cloath. Thirdly, in meane time we may be supplied by way of trade to other parts. 4th Cordevant, Deere, Seale; and Mooose Skins (which are beasts as big as Oxen, and their skins are buffe) are there to be had plentifully, which will help this way, especially for servants cloathing.

5. *Obj.* Your Winters are cold.

Answ. True, at sometimes when the wind blowes strong a *Nor-West*: but it holds not long together, and then it useth to be very moderate for a good space. First the coldnesse being not naturall (that place being 42. degrees) but accidentall. Secondly. The cold there is no impediment to health, but very wholsome for our bodies, inso much that all sorts generally, weake and strong had scarce ever such measure of health in all there lives as there. Thirdly, Is not a moist and foggie cold, as in *Holland*, and some parts of *England* but bright, cleare, and faire wether, that men are seldome troubled in Winter with coughes and Rheumes. Fourthly, it hinders not our imployment, for people are able to worke or travell usually all the Winter long, so there is no losse of time, simply in respect of the cold. Fifthly good fires (wood being so plentifull) will make amends.

6. *Ob.* Many are growne weaker in their estates since they went over.

Anf. Are not diverse in *London* broken in their Estates? and many in *England* are growne poore, and thousands goe a begging (yet wee never saw a beggar there) and will any taxe the City or Kingdome, and say they are unsubstable places?

Secondly their Estates now lie in houses, Lands, Horses, Cattel, Corne, &c. though they have not so much money as they had here, and so cannot make appearance of their wealth to those in *England*, yet they have it still, so that their Estates are not lost but changed.

3. Some mens Estates may be weaker through great and vast common charges, which the first planters especially have bin at in makeing the place substable and comfortable, which now others reape the fruit of, unknowne summes lye buried underground in such a worke as that is.

4. Some may be poore, (fo we are fure) many are rich, that carried nothing at all, that now have Houfe, Land, Corne, Cat-tel, &c and fuch as carry fomething are much encreafed.

7. *Ob.* Many fpeake evill of the place.

Anf. Did not fome doe fo of the Land of *Canaan* it felfe, yet *Canaan* was never the worfe and themfelves fmarted for fo doing. Secondly, fome have been punifhed there for their Delinquencies, or reftained from their exorbitancies; or difcountenanced for their ill opinions and not fufferd to vent their ftuffe: and hence being difpleafed take revenge by flanderous report. Thirdly, Let fuch if any fuch there be as have ought to alleadge, deale fairely and above board, and come and juftifie any thing againft the Country to our faces while we are here to anfwer, but fuch never yet appeared in any of our prefence to avouch any thing in this kinde, nor (we beleive) dare do it without blufhing.

8. *Ob.* Why doe many come away from thence?

Anfw. Doe not many remove from one Country to another, and yet none likes the Country the leffe becaufe fome depart from it? Secondly, few that we know of intend to abide here, but doe come on fome fpeciall bufines, and purpofe to returne. Thirdly of them that are come hither to ftay, (on our knowledge) fome of the wifeft repent them already, and wifh themfelves there againe. Fourthly, as fome went thither upon fudden undigefed grounds, and faw not God leading them in their way, but were carryed by an unfayed fpirit fo have they returned upon as fleght headleffe, unworthy reafons as they went. Fifthly, others muft have elbow-roome, and cannot abide to be fo pinioned with the ftrict Government in the *Commonwealth*, or Difcipline in the Church, now why fhould fuch live there; as *Ireland* will not brooke venemous beafts, fo will not that Land vile perfons, and loofe livers. Sixtly, though fome few have removed from them, yet (we may truly fay) thoufands as wife as themfelves would not change their place for any other in the world.

EXTRACT FROM MATHER'S "MAGNALIA."

"A general Court held at Boston, September 8, 1630, advanced a small sum (and it was then a day of small things,) namely, four hundred pounds, by way of essay towards the building of something to begin a Colledge: and New-Town being the Kiriath Sepher appointed for the seat of it, the name of the town, was for the sake of somewhat now founding here, which might hereafter grow into an University, changed into Cambridge. 'Tis true, the University of Upsal in Sueden, hath ordinarily about seven or eight hundred students belonging to it, which do none of them live collegiately, but board all of them here and there at private houses; nevertheless, the government of New-England, was for having their students brought up in a more collegiate way of living. But that which laid the most significant stone in the foundation, was the last will of Mr. John Harvard, a reverend, and excellent minister of the gospel, who dying at Charlstown, of a consumption, quickly after his arrival here, bequeathed the sum of seven hundred, seventy nine pounds, seventeen shillings and two pence, towards the pious work of building a Colledge, which was now set a foot. A committee then being chosen, to prosecute an affair, so happily commenced, it soon found encouragement from several other benefactors: the other colonies sent some small help to the undertaking, and several particular gentlemen did more, than whole colonies to support and forward it: but because the memorable Mr. John Harvard, led the way by a generosity exceeding the most of them, that followed his name was justly æternized, by its having the name of Harvard Colledge imposed upon it. . . .

"On August 27, 1640, the magistrates, with the ministers, of the colony, chose Mr. Henry Dunstar, to be the President of their new Harvard-Colledge. And in time convenient, the General Court endued the Colledge with a charter, which made it a corporation, consisting of a President, two Fellows, and a Treasurer to all proper intents and purposes: only with powers reserved unto the Governour, Deputy-Governour, and all the magistrates of the colony, and the ministers of the six next towns for the time being, to act as overseers, or visitors of the society. The tongues and arts were now taught in the Colledge, and piety was maintained with so laudable a discipline, that many eminent persons went forth from hence, adorned with accomplishments, that rendered them formidable to other

parts of the world, as well as to this country, and persons of good quality sent their sons from other parts of the world, for such an education, as this country could give unto them."

"The oldest extant document which, in type, clearly recognizes the existence of Harvard College is a precious pamphlet with this title, 'New England's First Fruits in respect to the Progress of Learning in the College at Cambridge, in Massachusetts Bay,' etc. It is a letter dated 'Boston, Sept. 26, 1642.' It was published in London in 1643, the year following the graduation of our first class of nine members. The letter gives a graphic and vigorous account of the first Commencement. This subject has the chief place in the pamphlet, the larger remainder being devoted to a most cheerful and hopeful account of the experience and prospects of the band of English exiles amid the stumps of their clearing in the primeval wilderness."—*Rev. George E. Ellis, Address at the dedication of the Harvard statue at Cambridge, 1884.*

This is the document reprinted in the present leaflet. It is the second part of a pamphlet in two parts, published in London under the same general title. The first part was "In respect of the Indians," the "conversion of some, conviction of divers, preparation of sundry"; the second part, here given, "Of the progresse of Learning, in the Colledge at Cambridge in Massachusetts Bay. With Divers other speciall Matters concerning that Countrey." Published anonymously, we are only told on the title-page that it was "published by the instant request of sundry Friends, who desire to be satisfied in these points by many *New-England* Men who are here present, and were eye or eare-witnesses of the same." The imprint is: "London, Printed by R. O. and G. D. for Henry Overton, and are to be sold at his Shop in Popes-head-Alley. 1643." These Bible texts stand on the title-page: "Who hath despised the Day of small things. Zach. 4. 10. If thou wert pure and upright, surely now he will awake for thee:—And though thy beginnings be small, thy latter end shall greatly encrease. Job. 8 6, 7."

The second part of "New England's First Fruits" was reprinted in the first volume of the Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections, 1792. The complete work was reprinted in Sabin's Historical Tracts, No. 7, 1865.

In Mather's *Magnalia* we find a completer account of the founding and first years of Harvard College than in any other work of equally early date; and with this are given biographies of various eminent persons educated at the college, the whole under the title *Sal Gentium*. An extract from this was published in the second series of Old South Leaflets, 1884.

There is a History of Harvard University, by Josiah Quincy, written while he was president of the university. In the great illustrated "Harvard Book," edited by Messrs. Vaile and Clark, which is a mine of information upon all Harvard matters, there is an admirable chapter upon the early history of the college, by Samuel Eliot. Of similar character is the "Historical Sketch of Harvard University," by William R. Thayer, originally contributed to the History of Middlesex County, and afterwards issued separately. Rev. George E. Ellis's address at the dedication of the Harvard statue in 1884, and James Russell Lowell's address at the celebration of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the college in 1886, have high historical value.

Up to ten years ago the ancestry and early life of John Harvard were lost in obscurity: even his birthplace was unknown. At that time everything was cleared up by the brilliant researches of Mr. Henry F. Waters. Mr. Waters's papers upon "John Harvard and his Ancestry," in the *N.E. Hist. Gen. Register* for July, 1885, and October, 1886, should be consulted by the student. The notes upon Harvard, by William Rendle, F.R.C.S., in his monograph upon "Old Southwark and its People," have value in this connection.

John Harvard was born in Southwark, London, in November, 1607. His father's name was Robert Harvard. His mother's maiden name was Katherine Rogers. Her father was a prominent citizen of Stratford-on-Avon, where the house, built in 1596, in which she lived from that time, when she was twelve years old, until her marriage to Robert Harvard in 1605, still stands, the finest old house in the High Street. The record of the marriage in the Stratford parish register is: "1605. Apriell 8, Robertus Harwod to Katherina Rogers." The record of John Harvard's christening at St. Saviour's, Southwark, is: "John Harvy, son of Robert, a butcher, Nov. 29th, 1607." John was sent to Emmanuel College, Cambridge, graduating in 1635. He was ordained as a dissenting minister, in 1637 married Ann Sadler, the daughter of a Sussex clergyman, and came to New England the same year. He became minister of the church in Charlestown, and died at Charlestown, September 24, 1638.



Old South Leaflets.

No. 52.

The Indian Grammar begun:

OR, AN ESSAY TO BRING THE INDIAN
LANGUAGE INTO RULES,

FOR THE HELP OF SUCH AS DESIRE TO LEARN THE SAME, FOR THE
FURTHERANCE OF THE GOSPEL AMONG THEM.

BY JOHN ELIOT.

Isa. 33. 19. *Thou shalt not see a fierce people, a people of a deeper speech than thou canst perceive, of a stammering tongue, that thou canst not understand.*

Isa. 66. 18. *It shall come that I will gather all Nations and Tongues, and they shall come and see my Glory.*

Dan. 7. 14. *And there was given him Dominion, and Glory, and a Kingdome, that all People, Nations and Languages should serve him, &c.*

Psal. 19. 3. *There is no speech nor language where their voice is not heard.*

Mal. 3. 11. *From the rising of the Sun, even to the going down of the same, my Name shall be great among the Gentiles, &c.*

CAMBRIDGE:

PRINTED BY MARMADUKE JOHNSON.

1666.

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE, ROBERT BOYLE, ESQ;
GOVERNOUR: WITH THE REST OF THE RIGHT HONOURA-
BLE AND CHRISTIAN CORPORATION FOR THE PROPA-
GATION OF THE GOSPEL UNTO THE INDIANS IN NEW-
ENGLAND.

NOBLE SIR,

You were pleased, among other Testimonies of your Christian and prudent care for the effectual Progress of this great Work of the Lord Jesus among the Inhabitants of these Ends of the Earth, and goings down of the Sun, to Command me (for such an aspect have your so wise and seasonable Motions, to my heart) to Compile a Grammar of this Language, for the help of others who have an heart to study and learn the same, for the sake of Christ, and of the poor Souls of these Ruines of Mankind, among whom the Lord is now about a Resurrection-work, to call them into his holy Kingdome. I have made an Essay unto this difficult Service, and laid together some Bones and Ribs preparatory at least for such a work. It is not worthy the Name of a Grammar, but such as it is, I humbly present it to your Honours, and request your Animadversions upon the Work, and Prayers unto the Lord for blessing upon all Essayes and Endeavours for the promoting of his Glory, and the Salvation of the Souls of these poor People. Thus' humbly commending your Honours unto the blessing of Heaven and to the guidance of the Word of God, which is able to save your Souls, I remain

Your Honours Servant in the Service
of our Lord Jesus,

JOHN ELIOT.

THE INDIAN GRAMMAR BEGUN.

Grammar is the *Art* or *Rule of Speaking*.

There be two parts of *Grammar*:

1. The *Art* of *making words*.
2. The *Art* of *ordering words* for speech.

The art of *making* { 1. By various *articulate sounds*.
words, is { 2. By *regular composing* of them.

Articulate sounds are composed into $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{Syllables.} \\ \textit{Words.} \end{array} \right.$

The various *articulate sounds* must be distinguished

By { *Names.*
 Characters.

These *Names* and *Characters* do make the *Alpha-bet*.

Because the *English Language* is the first, and most attainable Language which the *Indians* learn, he is a learned man among them, who can *Speak, Reade* and *Write* the *English Tongue*.

I therefore use the same *Characters* which are of most common use in our English Books; viz. the *Roman* and *Italick* Letters.

Also our *Alpha-bet* is the same with the *English*, saving in these few things following.

1. The *difficulty of the Rule* about the Letter [c], by reason of the *change of its sound* in the five sounds, *ca ce ci co cu*; being sufficiently helped by the Letters [k and s.]: We therefore lay by the Letter [c], [p. 2] saving in [ch]; of which there is frequent use in the Language. Yet I do not put it out of the *Alpha-bet*, for the use of it in other Languages, but the Character [ch] next to it, and call it [chee].

2. I put [*i*] Consonant into our *Alpha-bet*, and give it this Character [*j*], and call it *ji* or [*gi*], as this Syllable soundeth in the English word [*giant*]; and I place it next after [*i* vocal]. And I have done thus, because it is a *regular sound* in the *third person singular* in the *Imperative Mode* of Verbs, which cannot well be distinguished without it: though I have sometimes used [*gh*] instead of it, but it is harder and more inconvenient. The proper sound of it is, as the English word [*age*] soundeth. See it used *Genes.* 1. 3, 6, 9, 11.

3. We give (*v*) Consonant a *distinct name* by putting together (*ú f*) or (*uph*), and we never use it, save when it soundeth as it doth in the word (*save, have*), and place it next after (*u* vocal.) Both these Letters (*u* Vocal, and *v* Consonant) are together in their proper sounds in the Latine word (*uva* a Vine.)

4. We call *w* (*wee*), because our name giveth no hint of the *power* of its sound.

These Consonants (*l. n. r.*) have such a *natural coincidence*, that it is an eminent variation of their dialects.

We *Massachusetts* pronounce the *n*. The *Nipmuk Indians* pronounce *l*. And the *Northern Indians* pronounce *r*. As instance:

We say	<i>Anúm</i>	(<i>um</i> produced)	} A Dog. So in most words.
Nipmuk	<i>Alím</i>		
Northern,	<i>Arúm</i>		

Our *Vocals* are five: *a e i o u*. *Diphthongs*, or *double sounds*, are many, and of much use.

ai au ei ee eu eau oi oo ∞

Especially we have more frequent use of [*o and ∞*] than other Languages have: and our [*∞*] doth always sound as it doth in these English words (*moody, book*.)

We use onely *two Accents*, and but *sometime*.

The *Acute* (') to shew which Syllable is first *produced* in pronouncing of the word; which if it be not attended, no Nation can understand their own Language: as appeareth by the *witty Conceit* of the *Tytere tu's*.

ó produced with the accent, is a *regular distinction* betwixt the *first* and *second persons plural* of the *Suppositive Mode*; as

{	Naumog, <i>If we see</i> :	(as in <i>Log</i> .)
{	Naumóg, <i>If ye see</i> :	(as in <i>Vogue</i> .)

The other *Accent* is (^), which I call *Nasal*; and it is used onely upon (*ô*) when it is sounded in the Nose, as oft it is; or upon (*â*) for the like cause.

This is a *general Rule*, When two (*o o*) come together, ordinarily the *first* is *produced*; and so when two (*∞*) are together.

All the *Articulate sounds* and *Syllables* that ever I heard (with observation) in their Language, are sufficiently comprehended and ordered by our *Alpha-bet*, and the *Rules* here set down.

<i>Character.</i>	<i>Name.</i>	<i>Character.</i>	<i>Name.</i>
a		n	en
b	bee	o	
c	see	p	pee
ch	chee	q	keúh
d	dee	r	ar
e		f s	es
f	ef	t	tee
g	gee as in geese	u	
h		v	vf
i		w	wee
j	ji as in giant	x	ex
k	ka	y	wy
l	el	z	zad.
m	em		

Here be 27 *Characters*: The reason of *increasing the number* is above.

And I have been thus far bold with the *Alpha-bet*, because it is the first time of *writing this Language*; and it is better to settle our *Foundation* right at first, than to have it to *mend afterwards*.

Musical sounds they also have, and *perfect Harmony*, but they differ from us in *sound*.

There be four several sorts of *Sounds* or *Tones* uttered by Mankind.

1. *Articulation* in Speech.
2. *Laughter*.
3. *Lætation* and *Joy*: of which kinde of *sounds* our *Musick* and *Song* is made.
4. *Ululation*, *Howling*, *Yelling*, or *Mourning*: and of that kinde of *sound* is their *Musick* and *Song* made.

In which kinde of *sound* they also *hallow* and *call*, when they are most vociferous.

And that it is thus, it may be perceived by this, that their *Language* is so full of (œ) and ô *Nasal*.

They have *Harmony* and *Tunes* which they sing, but the matter is not in *Meeter*.

They are much pleased to have their *Language* and *Words* in *Meeter* and *Rithme*, as it now is in *The Singing Psalms* in some poor measure, enough to *begin* and *break the ice* withall: These they sing in our *Musicall Tone*.

So much for the Sounds and Characters.

Now follows the Consideration of Syllables and the Art of Spelling.

THE *formation of Syllables* in their Language, doth in nothing differ from the *formation of Syllables* in the *English*, and other *Languages*.

When I taught our *Indians* first to lay out a Word into *Syllables*, and then according to the *sound* of every Syllable to make it up with the *right Letters*, viz. if it were a *simple sound*, then *one Vocall* made the Syllable; if it were such a *sound* as required some of the *Consonants* to make it up, then the *adding* of the *right Consonants* either *before* the Vocall, or *after* it, or *both*. They quickly apprehended and understood this *Epitomie* of the *Art of Spelling*, and could soon learn to *Reade*.

The *Men*, *Women*, and *up-grown Youth* do thus rationally learn to *Reade*: but the *Children* learn by *rote* and *custome*, as other Children do.

Such as desire to learn this Language, must be attentive to *pronounce right*, especially to produce *that Syllable* that is *first to be produced*; then they must *Spell* by Art, and accustome their *tongues* to pronounce their *Syllables* and *Words*; then learn to *reade* such *Books* as are *Printed* in their Language. *Legendo*, *Scribendo*, *Loquendo*, are the *three means* to learn a Language.

So much for the Rule of Making Words.

Now follows the Ordering of them for Speech.

THE several sorts of words are called *Parts of Speech*, which are in number *Seven*.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 2. The <i>Noun</i> .
4. The <i>Verb</i> . | 1. The <i>Pronoun</i> .
3. The <i>Adnoun</i> , or <i>Adjective</i> .
5. The <i>Adverb</i> .
6. The <i>Conjunction</i> .
7. The <i>Interjection</i> . |
|--|--|

Touching these several kinds of Words, we are to consider,

1. The *formation* of them *asunder* by themselves.
2. The *construction* of them, or the laying them together, to make *Sense*, or a *Sentence*.

And thus far *Grammar* goeth in concatenation with *Logick*: for there is a *Reason* of *Grammar*. The *laying of Sentences* together to make up a *Speech*, is performed by *Logick*: The

adorning of that Speech with *Eloquence*, is performed by *Rhetorick*. Such a *use* and *accord* there is in these *general Arts*.

In the *formation* of words *asunder* by themselves,

Consider { 1. The *general Qualifications*, or *Affections* of words.
2. The *Kindes* of Words.

The *Qualifications* are { 1. In respect of their *Rise* whence they spring.
2. In respect of their *Consorts*, how they are yoked.

In respect of their Rise some are { 1. *Original words* : *sux originis*.
2. *Ort words* sprung out of other :
Chiefly { *Nominals* : or *Verbs* made out of
Nouns.
Verbals : or *Nouns* made out of
Verbs.

In respect of *Consorts*, { *Simple words* : one alone.
some are { *Compounded words* : when two or more
are made into one.

This Language doth greatly delight in *Compounding of words*, for *Abbreviation*, to *speak much* in *few words*, though they be sometimes *long*; which is chiefly caused by the *many Syllables* which the *Grammar Rule* requires, and *suppletive Syllables* which are of no signification, and curious care of *Euphonie*.

So much for the common Affection of words.

Now follow the severall Kindes of words.

THERE be two { 1. *Chief leading* { *Nouns*.
kindes : { words ; { *Verbs*.
2. Such as *attend upon*, and belong unto the
chief leading words.

Attendants on the { 1. Such as are *proper* { *Adnouns*.
Chief, are { *to each* ; as { *Adverbs*.
2. Such as are of *common use to both* ; as { *Pronouns*.
{ *Conjunctions*.

Independent Passions or *Interjections* come under no *Series* or *Order*, but are of use in Speech, to express the *passionate minde* of man.

Touching the *principal parts of Speech*, this may be said in

general, That *Nouns* are the *names of Things*, and *Verbs* are the *names of Actions*; and therefore their *proper Attendants* are answerable. *Adnouns* are the *qualities of Things*, and *Adverbs* are the *qualities of Actions*.

And hence is that wise Saying, *That a Christian must be adorned with as many Adverbs as Adjectives*: He must as well *do good*, as *be good*. When a man's virtuous Actions are well adorned with *Adverbs*, every one will conclude that the man is well adorned with virtuous *Adjectives*.

I. *Of the Pronoun.*

BECAUSE of the common and general use of the *Pronoun* to be affixed unto both *Nouns*, *Verbs* and other *parts of Speech*, and that in the *formation* of them; therefore that is the *first Part of Speech* to be handled.

I shall give no other description of them but this, They are such words as do express all the *persons*, both *singular* and *plural*: as

Sing.	{	Neen <i>I.</i>	}	Plu.	{	Neenawun or kenawun, <i>We.</i>
		Ken <i>Thou</i>				Kenaau <i>Ye</i>
		Noh or nagum <i>He.</i>				Nahoh or Nagoh, <i>They.</i>

There be also other *Pronouns* of frequent use :

As the *Interrogative* of *persons*: sing. Howan. pl. Howanig, *Who*.

The *Interrogative* of *things*; { sing. Uttiyeu, or tanyeu.
pl. Uttiyeush, *Which*.

Demonstratives	{	of persons:	{	sing. Yeuh, <i>This or that man.</i> Noh.
			pl. Yeug, <i>These men.</i> Nag or	
			neg, <i>They.</i>	
			Yeu <i>This.</i> Ne <i>This.</i>	
		of things:	{	Yeush <i>These.</i> Nish <i>These.</i>

Distributives; as { Nawhutchee, *some.* { Tohsuog? }
Monaog, *many.* { Tohsunash } *How many?*

But because these are not of use in *affixing* to other *Parts of Speech*, they may as well be reckoned among *Adnouns*, as some do; though there is another *Schesis* upon them, and they attend upon *Verbs* as well as *Nouns*.

The *first* and *second persons* are of most use in affixing both of *Nouns* and *Verbs*, and other Parts of Speech.

The *third person singular* is affixed with such Syllables as *these*, Wut. wun. um. oo. &c. having respect to *Euphonie*: And sometime the *third person*, especially of *Verbs*, hath no *affix*.

These *Pronouns*, (*Neen* and *Ken*) when they are affixed, they are *contracted into* *Ne* and *Ke*, and varied in the *Vocal* or *Vowel* according to *Euphonie*, with the word it is affixed unto; as *Nco*, *Kco*, &c.

If the word unto which it is affixed begin with a *Vocal*, then a *Consonant* of a fitting sound is interposed, to couple the word and his *affix* with an *Euphonie*: as *Nut. kut. num. kum*, &c.

I give not *Examples* of these *Rules*, because they will be so obvious anon, when you see *Nouns* and *Verbs* *affixed*.

2. *Of a Noun.*

A *NOUN* is a *Part of Speech* which signifieth a *thing*; or it is the *name of a thing*.

The *variation* of *Nouns* is not by *Male* and *Female*, as in other Learned Languages, and in *European Nations* they do.

Nor are they *varied* by *Cases*, *Cadencies*, and *Endings*: herein they are more like to the *Hebrew*.

Yet there seemeth to be one *Cadency* or *Case* of the *first Declination* of the *form Animate*, which endeth in *oh*, *uh*, or *ah*; viz. when an *animate Noun* followeth a *Verb transitive* whose *object* that he acteth upon is *without himself*. For Example: *Gen. 1. 16.* the last word is *anogqsog*, stars. It is an *Erratum*: it should be *anogqsoh*; because it followeth the *Verb ayim*, He made. Though it be an *Erratum* in the Press, it is the fitter in some respects for an Example.

In *Nouns*, consider { 1. *Genera*, or *kindes* of *Nouns*.
2. The *qualities* or *affections* thereof.

The *kindes* of *Nouns* are *two*; according to which there be *two Declensions* of *Nouns*, for the variation of the number.

Numbers are *two*: *Singular* and *Plural*.

The first *kinde* of *Nouns* is, when the *thing signified* is a *living Creature*.

The second *kinde* is, when the *thing signified* is *not a living Creature*.

Therefore I order them thus :

There be two *forms* or *declensions* of Nouns : $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{Animate.} \\ \textit{Inanimate.} \end{array} \right.$

The *Animate form* or *declension* is, when the *thing signified* is a living Creature: and such Nouns do alwayes make their Plural in (*og*); as,

Wosketomp, *Man*. Wosketompaog. (*a*) is but for *Eupho-*
Mittamwossis, *A Woman*. Mittamwossissog. [nie.

Nunkomp, *A young man*. Nunkompaog.

Nunksqau, *A Girl*. Nunksqauog.

Englishman. Englishmanog.

Englishwoman. Englishwomanog.

So Manit, *God*. Manittoog.

Mattannit, *The Devil*. Mattannittoog.

So Ox, Oxesog. Horse, Horsesog.

The Stars they put in this form :

Anogqs, *A Star*. Anogqsog.

Muhhog, *The Body*. Muhhogkooog.

Psukses, *A little Bird*. Psuksesog.

Ahtuk, *A Deer*. Ahtuhquog.

Mukquoshim, *A Wolf*. Mukquoshimwog.

Mosq, *A Bear*. Mosquog.

Tummunk, *The Beaver*. Tummunkquaog.

Puppinashim, *A Beast*. Puppinashimwog.

Askook, *A Snake or Worm*. Askookquog.

Namohs, *A Fish*. Namohsog. &c.

Some few Exceptions I know.

2. The *Inanimate form* or *declension* of Nouns, is when the *thing signified* is not a living Creature: and these make the Plural in *ash*; as

Hussun, *A Stone*. Hussunash.

Qussuk, *A Rock*. Qussukquanash.

Of this form are all Vegetables :

Mehtug, *A Tree*. Mehtugquash.

Moskeht, *Grass*. Moskehtuash.

And of this form are all the parts of the Body : as

Muskesuk, *The Eye or Face.* Muskesukquash.
 Mehtauog, *An Ear.* Mehtauogwash.
 Meepit, *A Tooth.* Meepitash.
 Meenan, *The Tongue.* Meenanash.
 Mussissittcon, *A Lip.* Mussissittoonash.
 Muttcon, *A Mouth.* Muttoonash.
 Menutcheg, *A Hand.* Menutchegash.
 Muhpit, *An Arm.* Muhpittenash.
 Muhkont, *A Leg.* Muhkontash.
 Musseet, *The Foot.* Musseetash.

Of this form are all Virtues, and all Vices : as

Waantamoonk, *Wisdom.* Waantamooongash, or onganash.

All *Verbals* are of this form, which end in *onk*, and make their Plural in *ongash*, or in *onganash*.

All *Virtues* and *Vices* (so far as at present I discern) are *Verbals*, from their *activity* and *readiness* to turn into *Verbs*.

All *Tools* and *Instruments* of *Labour*, *Hunting*, *Fishing*, *Fowling*, are of this form. All *Apparel*, *Housing*: All *Fruits*, *Rivers*, *Waters*, &c.

So much for the kindes of Nounes.

The *common Affections* or *Qualifications* are two :

- { 1. The *affixing* of the *Noun* with the *Pronoun*.
- { 2. The *ranging* them into several *Ranks*.

1. The way of *affixing* of Nouns, is the putting or using of the Noun in all the *three persons*, both Singular and Plural.

This *manner of speech* being a new thing to us that know the *European* or *Western Languages*, it must be demonstrated to us by *Examples*.

Metah, *the Heart.*

Sing.	{	Nuttah, <i>my heart.</i>	}	Pl.	{	Nuttahhun, <i>our heart.</i>	}
		Kuttah, <i>thy heart.</i>				Kuttahhou, <i>your heart.</i>	
		Wuttah, <i>his heart.</i>				Wuttahhou, <i>their heart.</i>	

Menutcheg, *A Hand.*

<i>Sing.</i>	{	Nunnutcheg, <i>my hand.</i>	}	<i>P.</i>	{	Nunnutcheganun, <i>our hand.</i>	
		Kenutcheg, <i>thy hand.</i>				Kenutcheganoo, <i>your hand.</i>	
		Wunnutcheg, <i>his hand.</i>				Wunnutcheganoo, <i>their hand.</i>	
<i>Sing.</i>	{	Nunnutcheganash, <i>my hands.</i>					
		Kenutchegash, <i>or kenutcheganash, thy hands.</i>					
		Wunnutchegash <i>or wunnutcheganash, his hands.</i>					
<i>Plu.</i>	{	Nunnutcheganunnonut, <i>our hands.</i>					
		Kenutchegancowout, <i>your hands.</i>					
		Wunnutcheganoowout, <i>their hands.</i>					

Wétu, *A House.*

<i>Sing.</i>	{	Neek, <i>my house.</i>	}	<i>Pl.</i>	{	Neekun, <i>our house.</i>
		Keek, <i>thy house.</i>				Keekou, <i>your house.</i>
		Week, <i>his house.</i>				Weekou, <i>their house.</i>
<i>Sing.</i>	{	Neekit, <i>in my house.</i>	}	<i>Pl.</i>	{	Neekunonut, <i>in our house.</i>
		Keekit, <i>in thy house.</i>				Keekuwout, <i>in your house.</i>
		Weekit, <i>in his house.</i>				Weekuwout, <i>or wekuwo-</i> [mut, <i>in his house.</i>

Hence we corrupt this word Wigwam.

So much may at present suffice for the affixing of Nouns.

Now for the ranging them into ranks.

There be *three Ranks* of Nouns ; { *The Primitive.*
 { *The Diminutive.*
 { *The Possessive.*

The same *Noun* may be used in all these *Ranks*.

The *primitive Rank* expresses *the thing as it is* : as Nunkomp, *a Youth.* Nunksqua, *a Girl.* Ox. Sheep. Horse. Pig. So Hassun, *a stone.* Mehtug, *a tree.* Moskeht, *grass or herb.*

2. The *diminutive Rank* of Nouns doth *lessen the thing*, and expresses it to be *a little one* ; and it is formed by *adding*, with a due Euphonie (*es*) or (*emes*) unto the *primitive Noun*. For Example, I shall use the same Nouns named in the *first Rank*, here in the *second Rank* : as Nunkompaes *or emes.* Nunk-squaes *or emes.* Oxemes. Sheepsemes. Horsemes. Pigsemes. Hassunemes. Mehtugques, *or Mehtugquemes.* Moskehtuemes.

And so far as I perceive, these two endings (*es* and *emes*) are degrees of *diminution* : (*emes*) is the least.

3. The *possessive Rank* of Nouns, is when the *person* doth challenge an interest in the *thing*. Hence, as the other *Ranks* may be *affixed*, this must be *affixed with the Pronoun*.

And it is made by *adding the Syllable* (eum or com, or um) according to Euphonie, unto the affixed Noun. *For Example*: Num-Manittoom, *my God*. Nuttineneum, *my man*. Nunnunkompoom. Nunnunksquaeum. Nutoxineum. Nusheepseum. Nuthorsesum. Nuppigsum. Nuthassunneum. Nummehtug-koom. Nummoskehteum. Nummoskehteumash.

Both the *primitive Noun*, and the *diminutive Noun*, may be used in the form *possessive*; as *Nutsheepsemeseum*, and the like.

Nouns may be turned into *Verbs* two ways:

1. By turning the Noun into the Verb-substantive form: as Wosketompoo, *He became a man*. Of this see more in the *Verb Substantive*.

2. All *Nouns* that end in *onk*, as they come from *Verbs* by adding (*onk*) so they will turn back again into *Verbs*, by taking away (*onk*) and forming the word according to the Rule of *Verbs*; as

Waantamoonk is *Wisdom*: take away *onk*, and then it may be *formed* Noowaantam, *I am wise*. Kōowaantam, *Thou wise*, &c. Waantam, *He wise*, &c.

3. *Of Adnouns.*

AN *Adnoun* is a *part of Speech* that *attendeth* upon a *Noun*, and signifieth the *Qualification* thereof.

The *Adnoun* is capable of both the *Animate* and *Inanimate forms*; and it agreeth with his *leading Noun*, in *form*, *number*, and *person*.

For example: *Rev. 4. 4. there is* Neesneechagkodtash nabo yau appuongash, *Twenty four Thrones*. And Neesneechagkodtog yauog Eldersog, *Twenty four Elders*. Here be two *Nouns* of the two several forms, *Animate* and *Inanimate*; and the same *Adnoun* is made to agree with them both.

The *Inanimate form* of *Adnouns* end some in *i*, and some in *e*.

The *Animate form* in *es*, or *esu*: and those are turned into *Verbs* by taking the *affix*. As

Then *upwards* they *adde* to *Neesneechag*, the *single Numbers* to 30, &c.

- 30 *Nishwinchag kodtog, kodtash.*
 40 *Yauunchag kodtog, kodtash.*
 50 *Napannatahshinchag kodtog, kodtash.*
 60 *Nequtta tahshinchag kodtog, kodtash.*
 70 *Nesausuk tahshinchag kodtog, kodtash.*
 80 *Shwosuk tahshinchag kodtog, kodtash.*
 90 *Paskoogun tahshinchag kodtog, kodtash.*
 100 *Nequt pasuk kooog. kooash.*
 1000 *Nequt muttannonganog* { *kodtog.* } or { *kussuog.*
 { *kodtash.* } { *kussuash.*

[About one-quarter of the grammar is here given. The balance is almost entirely devoted to the Verb and its conjugations,—the whole concluding with the following remarks.]

I HAVE now finished what I shall do at present: and in a word or two to satisfie the prudent Enquirer how I found out these new wayes of Grammar, which no other Learned Language (so far as I know, useth; I thus inform him: God first put into my heart a compassion over their poor Souls, and a desire to teach them to know Christ, and to bring them into his Kingdome. Then presently I found out (by God's wise providence) a pregnant witted young man, who had been a Servant in an English house, who pretty well understood his own Language, and hath a clear pronunciation: Him I made my Interpreter. By his help I translated the Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and many Texts of Scripture: Also I compiled both Exhortations and Prayers by his help. I diligently marked the difference of their Grammar from ours: When I found the way of them, I would pursue a word, a noun, a verb, through all variations I could think of. And thus I came at it. We must not sit still and look for miracles; Up, and be doing, and the Lord will be with thee. Prayer and pains, through faith in Christ Jesus will do any thing. Nil tam deficile quod non—I do believe and hope that the Gospel shall be spread to all the ends of the Earth, and dark corners of the world by such a way, and that such Instruments as the Churches shall send forth for that end and purpose. Lord hasten those good days, and pour out that good Spirit upon thy people. Amen.

John Eliot, the apostle to the Indians, was born in England in 1604, and was educated at Jesus College, Cambridge. He came to America in 1631, and in 1632 became pastor of the church in Roxbury, where he remained until his death, in 1690. From the first he was deeply interested in missionary work among the Indians and to this he devoted himself more and more. He learned their language, and preached to them in it; and he did an amazing work in the way of translation, including the whole Bible. A society was formed in England to promote the work among the Indians; and at its cost Eliot's translation of the Bible was printed at Cambridge, Mass., in 1663, being the first Bible printed in America.

Besides his translation of the Bible, Eliot published a translation of Baxter's *Call to the Unconverted*, and an abridged translation of Bishop Bayly's *Practice of Piety*. His *Indian Primer*, published in 1669, comprises an exposition of the Lord's Prayer, a translation of the Larger and Shorter Catechisms in Indian, etc. A reprint of this work, from the only complete copy known to exist, preserved in the library of the university of Edinburgh, was published in 1877, with a valuable historical introduction by the librarian, Mr. John Small. In 1671 Eliot printed in English a little volume entitled *Indian Dialogues: for their Instruction in that Great Service of Christ in Calling Home their Countrymen to the Knowledge of God and of themselves*; and, in 1672, *The Logick Primer; some Logical Notions to Initiate the Indians in the Knowledge of the Rule of Reason, etc.* These two volumes, both printed at Cambridge, are very rare. In 1671 he published in London *A Brief Narrative of the Progress of the Gospel among the Indians in New England*. This tract has been republished among the Old South Leaflets (general series, No. 21), and the student is referred to the historical and bibliographical notes there given with it. In 1678 Eliot published a *Harmony of the Gospels*, and in 1689 a translation into Indian of Shepard's *Sincere Convert*. His *Indian Grammar Begun*, a portion of which constitutes the present leaflet, was written in the winter of 1664, his sons assisting in the work, and was printed at Cambridge in 1666. It was reprinted in 1822, with valuable notes by Pickering and Du Ponceau, in the Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections, second series, vol. ix.

In the exhaustive *Bibliography of the Algonquian Languages*, by James C. Pilling, published by the Smithsonian Institution in 1891, there is a complete account of all of Eliot's works, accompanied by many interesting facsimiles. See also the life of Eliot by Mather in his *Magnalia*.



Gods Promise To His Plantations

2 Sam. 7. 10. *Moreover I will appoint a place for my people
Israell, and I will plant them, that they may dwell in a place
of their owne, and move no more.*

AS IT WAS DELIVERED IN A SERMON,
BY JOHN COTTON, B.D.
and Preacher of Gods word in *Boston.*

Psalmes 22. 27. 30. 31. *All the ends of the world shall remember
and turne unto the Lord, and all the kindreds of the Nations
shall worship before thee.*

*A seede shall serve him, it shall be accounted to the Lord for a gen-
eration.*

*They shall come, and shall declare his righteousness unto a people
that shall be borne, that he hath done this.*

LONDON,
PRINTED BY WILLIAM JONES FOR JOHN BELLAMY, and
are to be sold at the three *Golden Lyons* by the
Royall Exchange. 1630

TO THE CHRISTIAN READER.

ALTHOUGH no good Christian, or indeede ingenuous man, can doe anything less, than approve of such endeavors, as aime at the glory of God, and a Common good, especially when they are mannaged by a cleare warrent from Gods word. Yet for aymes and ends that men put to their actions being hidden in their hearts, there is no way to declare them, but by an honest profession of them, which is sufficient where we are entertained but with that common charity one man is bound to yeeld another; But for the grounds and rule an action is wrought by, and the praise of it in that respect, there is another judgement than that of charity to guide us by, namely, by proving it by the touch-stone of Gods word.

Now because many may either not know, or doe not consider upon how full a ground and warrant out of the word of God that undertaking (which was the occasion of this Sermon) hath hitherto proceeded, I thought good (Courteous Reader) leave being with some difficultie obtained of the Reverend Author) to present unto thy view and consideration that which may in part give thee satisfaction in this particular.

Ere long (if God will) thou shalt see a larger declaration of the first rise and ends of this enterprise, and so cleare and full a justification of this designe, both in respect of that warrant it hath from Gods word, & also in respect of any other ground and circumstance of weight, that is considerable in the warrant of such a worke, as (I hope) there will easily be removed any scruple of moment, which hitherto hath beene moved about it.

If thou hast any doubts yet unresolved, rather be intreated to understand from us, what may be the answer of them, than to discourage any man by them: so shalt thou be a helper and a friend, whereas otherwise (it may be against thy will) thou maist be an enemy to a worke (for ought thou yet knowest) God is the Authour of.

It is hoped; there is none but will finde cause to approve of the worke, and of them that ingage themselves in it; But especially they who any way, at least by silence (a seeming applause) approved the Plantations of Virginia, St. Christophers, Bermudas, this having ends inferiour to none of them, and men (not to compare but to give due honour to all employed in such noble enterprises) promising as much by their usefullnesse, industrie, love to their Countrie, piety, and other qualifications as those did. It is enough they adventure, that hazard their persons, families and estates, for

that worke, which it may appeare to thee ere long thou art bound as well as they to further.

Now it were injurious, if not impious, not onely to denie the right and benefit of thy prayers to such, but also to loade them with causelesse aspersions . (though but in thy thoughts) for that, for which thou hast great cause to praise God for them, who hath stirred up their spirits to that which hath beene a maine meane of peopling the world, and is likely to be of propagating the Gospell. For the furtherance of which worke in the hands of those that sincerely intend it, let as fervent prayers passe from thee to the throne of grace for them, as I am confident, (thy occasions being made knowne unto them) would be put up from them in thy behalfe.

THINE I. H.

Moreover I will appoint a place for my people Israell, and I will plant them, that they may dwell in a place of their owne, and move no more.

IN the beginning of this chapter we reade of *David's* purpose to build God an house, who thereupon consulted with *Nathan* about it, one Prophet standing in neede of anothers help in such waightie matters. *Nathan* encourageth the King unto this worke, verse 3. God the same night meetes *Nathan* and tells him a contrary purpose of his: Wherein God refuseth *David's* offer, with some kind of earnest and vehement dislike, verse 4, 5: Secondly, he refuseth the reason of *David's* offer, from his long silence. For foure hundred yeares together he spake of no such thing, unto any of the Tribes of *Israel* saying, *Why build you not me an house?* in 6. 7. verses.

Now lest *David* should be discouraged with this answer, the Lord bids *Nathan* to shut up his speech with words of encouragement, and so he remoues his discouragement two wayes

First, by recounting his former favours dispensed unto *David*. Secondly, by promising the continuance of the like or greater: and the rather, because of this purpose of his. And five blessings God promiseth unto *David*, and his, for his sake.

The first is in the 10. verse: *I will appoint a place for my people Israell.*

Secondly, seeing it was in his heart to build him an house, God would therefore, *build him an house renowned forever.* verse 11.

Thirdly, that he would accept of an house from *Solomon*, verse 12.

Fourthly, hee will be a Father to his sonne, vers. 14. 15.

Fifthly, that he will *establish the throne of his house for ever.*

In this 10 verse is a double blessing promised:

First, the designment of a place for his people.

Secondly, a plantation of them in that place, from whence is promised a threefold blessing.

First, they shall dwell there like Free-holders in a place of their owne.

Secondly, hee promiseth them firme and durable possession, they shall move no more.

Thirdly, they shall have peaceable and quiet resting there, The sonnes of wickedness shall afflict them no more: which is amplified by their former troubles, as before time.

From the appointment of a place for them, which is the first blessing, you may observe this note,

The placing of a people in this or that Countrey is from the appointment of the Lord.

This is evident in the Text, and the Apostle speakes of it as grounded in nature, *Acts 17. 26. God hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of our habitation. Dut. 2 chap. 5. 9.* God would not have the *Israelites* meddle with the *Edomites*, or the *Moabites*, because he had given them their land for a possession. God assigned out such a land for such a posterity, and for such a time.

Quest. Wherein doth this worke of God stand in appointing a place for a people?

Answ. First, when God espies or discovers a land for a people, as in *Ezek. 20. 6.* he brought them into a land that he had espied for them: And that is, when either he gives them to discover it themselves, or heare of it discovered by others, and fitting them.

Secondly, after he hath espied it, when he carrieth them along to it, so that they plainly see a providence of God leading them from one Country to another: As in *Exod. 19. 4.* *You have seene how I have borne you as on Eagles wings, and brought you unto my selfe.* So that though they met with many difficulties, yet hee carried them high above them all, like an eagle, flying over seas and rockes, and all hindrances.

Thirdly, when he makes roome for a people to dwell there, as in *Psal. 80. 9.* *Thou preparedst roome for them.* When *Isaac* sojourned among the *Philistines*, he digged one well, and the *Philistines* strove for it, and he called it *Esek.* and he digged another well, and for that they strove also, therefore he called it *Sitnah*: and he removed thence, and digged another well, and for that they strove not, and he called it *Rohoboth*, and said, *For now the Lord hath made room for us, and we shall be fruitfull in the Land.* Now no *Esek*, no *Sitnah*, no quarrel or contention, but now he sits downe in *Rohoboth* in a peaceable roome.

Now God makes room for a people 3 wayes:

First, when he casts out the enemies of a people before them by lawfull warre with the inhabitants, which God calls them unto: as in *Ps. 44. 2.* *Thou didst drive out the heathen before them.* But this course of warring against others, & driving

them out without provocation, depends upon speciall Commission from God, or else it is not imitable.

Secondly, when he gives a forreigne people favour in the eyes of any native people to come and sit downe with them either by way of purchase, as *Abraham* did obtaine the field of *Machpelah*; or else when they give it in courtesie, as *Pharaoh* did the land of *Goshen* unto the sons of *Jacob*.

Thirdly, when hee makes a Countrey though not altogether void of inhabitants, yet voyd in that place where they reside. Where there is a vacant place, there is liberty for the sonne of *Adam* or *Noah* to come and inhabite, though they neither buy it, nor aske their leaves. *Abraham* and *Isaac*, when they* sojourned amongst the Philistines, they did not buy that land to feede their cattle, because they said There is roome enough. And so did *Jacob* pitch his Tent by *Sechem*, *Gen.* 34. 21. There was *roome enough* as *Hamor* said, *Let them sit down amongst us*. And in this case if the people who were former inhabitants did disturbe them in their possessions, they complained to the King, as of wrong done unto them: As *Abraham* did because they took away his well, in *Gen.* 21, 25 For his right whereto he pleaded not his immediate calling from God, (for that would have seemed frivolous amongst the Heathen) but his owne industry and culture in digging the well, verse 30. Nor doth the King reject his plea, with what had he to doe to digge wells in their soyle? but admitteth it as a Principle in Nature, That in a vacant soyle, hee that taketh possession of it, and bestoweth culture and husbandry upon it, his Right it is. And the ground of this is from the grand Charter given to *Adam* and his posterity in Paradise, *Gen.* 1. 28. *Multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it*. If therefore any sonne of *Adam* come and finde a place empty, he hath liberty to come, and fill, and subdue the earth there. This Charter was renewed to *Noah*, *Gen.* 9. 1. *Fulfill the earth and multiply*: So that it is free from that comon Grant for any to take possession of vacant Countries. Indeed no Nation is to drive out another without speciall Commission from heaven, such as the Israelites had, unless the Natives do unjustly wrong them, and will not recompence the wrongs done in peaceable fort, & then they may right themselves by lawfull war, and subdue the Countrey unto themselves.

*This sojourning was a constant residence there, as in a possession of their owne; although it be called sojourning or dwelling as strangers, because they neither had the soveraigne government of the whole Countrey in their owne hand, nor yet did incorporate themselves into the Commonwealth of the Natives, to submit themselves unto their government.

This placing of people in this or that Countrey, is from Gods sovereignty over all the earth, and the inhabitants thereof: as in *Psal.* 24. 1 *The earth is the Lords, and the fulnesse thereof.* And in *Ier.* 10. 7. God is there called, *The King of Nations:* and in *Deut.* 10. 14. Therefore it is meete he should provide a place for all Nations to inhabite, and haue all the earth replenished. Onely in the Text here is meant some more speciall appointment, because God tells them it by his owne mouth; he doth not so with other people, he doth not tell the children of *Sier*, that hee hath appointed a place for them: that is, He gives them the land by promise; others take the land by his providence, but Gods people take the land by promise: And therefore the land of *Canaan* is called a land of promise. Which they discern, first, by discerning themselves to be in Christ, in whom all the promises are yea, and amen.

Secondly, by finding his holy presence with them, to wit, when he plants them in the holy Mountaine of his Inheritance: *Exodus.* 15. 17. And that is when he giveth them the liberty and purity of his Ordinances. It is a land of promise, where they have provision for soule as well as for body. *Ruth* dwelt well for outward respects while shee dwelt in *Moab*, but when shee cometh to dwell in *Israel*, shee is said to come under the wings of God: *Ruth* 2. 12. When God wrappes us in with his Ordinances, and warmes us with the life and power of them as with wings, there is a land of promise.

This may teach us all where we doe now dwell, or where after wee may dwell, be sure you looke at every place appointed to you, from the hand of God: wee may not rush into any place, and never say to God, By your leave; but we must discern how God appoints us this place. There is poore comfort in sitting down in any place, that you cannot say, This place is appointed me of God. Canst thou say that God spied out this place for thee, and there hath settled thee above all hinderances? didst thou finde that God made roome for thee either by lawfull descent, or purchase, or gift, or other warrantable right? Why then this is the place God hath appointed thee; here hee hath made roome for thee, he hath placed thee in *Rehoboth*, in a peaceable place: This we must discern, or els we are but intruders upon God. And when wee doe withall discern, that God giveth us these outward blessings from his love in Christ, and maketh comfortable provision as well for our soule as for our bodies, by the meanes of grace, then doe we enjoy our present possession as well by gracious prom-

ise, as by the common, and just, and bountifull providence of the Lord. Or if a man doe remove, he must see that God hath espied out such a Countrey for him.

Secondly, though there be many difficulties yet he hath given us hearts to overlook them all, as if we were carried upon eagles wings.

And thirdly, see God making roome for us by some lawfull means.

Quest. But how shall I know whether God hath appointed me such a place, if I be well where I am, what may warrant my removeall?

Answ. There be foure or five good things, for procurement of any of which I may remove. Secondly, there be some evill things, for avoiding of any of which wee may transplant our selves. Thirdly, if withall we find some speciall providence of God concurring in either of both concerning our selves, and applying general grounds of removall to our personall estate.

First, wee may remove for the gaining of knowledge. Our Saviour commends it in the Queene of the south, that she came from the utmost parts of the earth to heare the wisdom of *Solomon*: *Matth.* 12. 42. And surely with him she might have continued for the same end, if her personall calling had not recalled her home.

Secondly, some remove and travaile for merchandize and gaine-sake; *Daily bread may be sought from farre*, *Prov.* 31. 14. Yea our Saviour approveth travaile for Merchants, *Matth.* 13. 45, 46. when hee compareth a Christian to a Merchantman seeking pearles: For he never fetcheth a comparison from any unlawfull thing to illustrate a thing lawfull. The comparison from the unjust Steward, and from the Theefe in the night, is not taken from the injustice of the one, or the theft of the other; but from the wisdom of the one, and the sodainnesse of the other; which in themselves are not unlawfull.

Thirdly, to plant a Colony, that is, a company that agree together to remove out of their owne Country, and settle a Citty or commonwealth elsewhere. Of such a Colony wee reade in *Acts* 16. 12. which God blessed and prospered exceedingly, and made it a glorious Church. Nature teacheth Bees to doe so, when as the hive is too full, they seeke abroad for new dwellings: So when the hive of the Common wealth is so full, that Tradesmen cannot live one by another, but eate up one another, in this case it is lawfull to remove.

Fourthly, God alloweth a man to remove, when he may employ his Talents and gift better elsewhere, especially when

where he is, he is not bound by any speciall engagement. Thus God sent *Ioseph* before to preserve the Church: *Iosephs* wisdom and spirit was not fit for a shepheard, but for a Counsellour of State, and therefore God sent him into *Egypt*. *To whom much is given of him God will require the more: Luk* 12. 48.

Fifthly, for the liberty of the Ordinances. 2 *Chron.* 11. 13, 14, 15. When *Ieroboam* made a desertion from *Judah*, and set up golden Calves to worship, all that were well affected, both Priests and people, sold their possessions, and came to *Ierusalem* for the Ordinances sake. This case was of seasonable use to our fathers in the dayes of Queene *Mary*; who removed to *France* and *Germany* in the beginning of her Reign, upon Proclamation of alteration of religion, before any persecution began.

Secondly, there be evils to be avoyded that may warrant removeall. First, when some grievous sinnes overspread a Country that threaten desolation. *Mic.* 2. 6 to 11 verse: When the people say to them that prophecie, *Prophecie not*; then verse 10. *Arise then, this is not your rest*. Which words though they be a threatning, not a commandement; yet as in a threatning a wise man foreseeeth the plague, so in the threatning he seeth a commandement, to hide himselfe from it. This case might have been of seasonable use unto them of the *Palatinate*, when they saw their Orthodox Ministers banished, although themselves might for a while enjoy libertie of conscience.

Secondly, if men be overburdened with debts and miseries, as *David's* followers were; they may then retire out of the way (as they retired to *David* for safety) not to defraud their creditors (for *God is an avenger of such things*, 1 *Thess.* 4. 6.) but to gaine further opportunity to discharge their debts, and to satisfie their Creditors. 1 *Sam.* 22. 1, 2.

Thirdly, in case of persecution, so did the Apostle in *Acts* 13. 46, 47.

Thirdly, as these generall cases, where any of them doe fall out, doe warrant removeall in generall: so there be some speciall providences or particular cases which may give warrant unto such or such a person to transplant himselfe, and which apply the former generall grounds to particular persons.

First, if soveraigne Authority command and encourage such Plantations by giving way to subjects to transplant themselves, and set up a new Commonwealth. This is a lawfull and expedient case for such particular persons as be designed and

sent: *Matth.* 8. 9. and for such as they who are sent, have power to command.

Secondly, when some speciall providence of God leades a man unto such a course. This may also single out particulars. *Psal.* 32. 8. *I will instruct, and guide thee with mine eye.* As the childe knowes the pleasure of his father in his eye, so doth the child of God see Gods pleasure in the eye of his heavenly Fathers providence. And this is done three wayes.

First, if God give a man an inclination to this or that course, for that is the spirit of man; and *God is the father of spirits: Rom.* 1. 11, 12. *1 Cor.* 16. 12. *Paul* discerned his calling to goe to *Rom*, by his *τὸ πρόθυμον*, his ready inclination to that voyage; and *Apollos* his loathing to goe to *Corinth*, *Paul* accepted as a just reason of his refusall of a calling to goe thither. And this holdeth, when in a mans inclination to travaile, his heart is set on no by-respects, as to see fashions, to deceive his Creditours, to fight Duels, or to live idly, these are vaine inclinations; but if his heart be inclined upon right judgement to advance the Gospell, to maintaine his family, to use his Talents fruitfully, or the like good end, this inclination is from God. As the beames of the Moone darting into the Sea leades it to and fro, so doth a secret inclination darted by God into our hearts leade and bowe (as a byas) our whole course.

Secondly, when God gives other men hearts to call us as the men of *Mecedon* did *Paul*, *Come to us into Macedonia, and helpe us.* When wee are invited by others who have a good calling to reside there, we may goe with them, unlesse we be detained by waightier occasions. One member hath interest in another, to call to it for helpe, when it is not diuerted by greater employment.

Thirdly, there is another providence of God concurring in both these, that is, when a mans calling and person is free, and not tyed by parents, or Magistrates, or other people that have interest in him. Or when abroad hee may doe himselfe and others more good than he can doe at home. Here is then an eye of God that opens a doore there, and sets him loose here, inclines his heart that way, and outlookes all difficulties. When God makes roome for us, no binding here, and an open way there, in such a case God tells them, he will appoint a place for them.

Vse. 2. Secondly, this may teach us in every place where God appoints us to sit downe, to acknowledge him as our Landlord. The earth is the Lords and the fullnesse thereof; his are our Countries, our Townes, our houses; and therefore let us acknowledge him in them all. The Apostle makes this

use of it amongst the *Athenians*, *Acts* 17. 26, 27. *He hath appointed the times and places of our habitation; that we might seeke and grope after the Lord.* There is a threefold use thaate we are to make of it, as it appeareth there; Let us seek after the Lord, why? Because if thou comest into an house thou wilt aske for the owner of it: And so if thou comest into a forreigne land, and there findest an house and land provided for thee, wilt thou not enquire, where is the Landlord? where is that God that gave me this house and land? He is missing, and therefore seek after him.

Secondly, thou must feele after him, grope after him by such sensible things, strive to attaine the favour of your Landlord, and labour to be obedient to him that hath given you such a place.

Thirdly, you must labour to finde him in his Ordinances, in prayer and in Christian communion. These things I owe him as my Landlord, and by these I find and enjoy him. This use the very Pagans were to make of their severall Plantations: And if you knew him before, seeke him yet more, and feele after him till you find him in his Ordinances, and in your consciences.

Vse 3. Thirdly, when you have found God making way and roome for you, and carrying you by his providence into any place, learne to walke thankfully before him, defraud him not of his rent, but offer yourselves unto his service: Serve that God, and teach your children to serve him, that hath appointed you and them the place of your habitation.

2 Observation. *A people of Gods plantation shall enjoy their owne place with safety and peace.*

This is manifest in the Text: I will plant them and what followes from thence? They shall dwell in their owne place; But how? Peaceably, they shall not be moved any more. Then they shall dwell safely, then they shall live in peace. The like promise you reade of in *Psal.* 89. 21, 22. *The enemy shall not exact upon them any more. And in Psal.* 92. 13. *Those that be planted in the house of the Lord, shall flourish in the Courts of our God. Gods plantation is a flourishing plantation, Amos* 9. 15.

Quest. What is it for God to plant a people?

Answer. It is a Metaphor taken from young Impes; I will plant them, that is, I will make them to take roote there; and that is, where they and their soyle agree well together, when they are well and sufficiently provided for, as a plant suckes nourishment from the soyle that fitteth it.

Secondly, When hee causeth them to grow as plants doe, in *Psal.* 80. 8, 9, 10, 11. When a man growes like a tree in tallnesse and strength, to more firmnesse and eminency, then hee may be said to be planted.

Thirdly, When God causeth them to *fructifie.* *Psal.* 1. 5

Fourthly, When he establisheth them there, then he plants, and rootes not up.

But here is something more especiall in this planting; for they were planted before in this land, and yet he promiseth here againe, that he will plant them in their owne land; which doth imply, first, That whatever former good estate they had already, he would prosper it, and increase it.

Secondly, God is said to plant a people more especially, when they become *Trees of righteousness*, *Isay* 61. 3: That they may be called trees of righteousness, the planting of the Lord. So that there is implied not onely a continuance of their former good estate, but that hee would make them a good people, a choice generation: which he did, first, by planting the Ordinances of God amongst them in a more glorious manner, as he did in *Salomons* time.

2. He would give his people *a naile*, and *a place in his Tabernacle*, *Isay* 56. 5. And that is to give us part in Christ; for so the Temple typified. So then hee plants us when hee gives us roote in Christ.

Thirdly, When he giveth us to *grow up in him as Calves in the stall.* *Mal.* 4. 2, 3.

Fourthly, & to *bring forth much fruit*, *Joh.* 15. 1, 2.

Fifthly, and to continue and abide in the state of grace. This is to plant us in his holy Sanctuary, he not rooting us up.

Reasons. This is taken from the kinde acceptance of *Dauids* purpose to build God an house, because he saw it was done in the honesty of his heart, therefore he promiseth to give his people a place wherein they should abide forever as in a house of rest.

Secondly, it is taken from the office God takes upon him, when he is our planter, hee becomes our husbandman; and *if he plant us, who shall plucke us up?* *Isay.* 27. 1, 2. *Job.* 34. 29. When he giveth quiet, who can make trouble? If God be the Gardiner, who shall plucke up what he sets down? Every plantation that he hath not planted shall be plucked up, and what he hath planted shall surely be established.

Thirdly, from the nature of the blessing hee conferres upon us: When he promiseth to plant a people, their dayes shall be as the dayes of a Tree, *Isay* 65. 22: As the Oake is said

to be an hundred yeares in growing, and an hundred yeares in full strength, and an hundred yeares in decaying.

Quest. But it may be demanded, how was this promise fulfilled by the people, seeing after this time they met with many persecutions, at home, and abroad, many sources of wickednesse afflicted them; *Ieroboam* was a sonne of wickednesse, and so was *Ahab*, and *Ahaz*, and divers others.

Answ. Because after *Davids* time they had more settlednesse than before.

Secondly, to the godly these promises were fulfilled in Christ.

Thirdly, though this promise was made that others should not wrong them, yet it followes not but that they might wrong themselves by trespassing against God, and so expose themselves to affliction. Whilst they continued Gods plantation, they were a noble Vine, a right seede, but if *Israel* will destroy themselves, the fault is in themselves. And yet even in their captivity the good amongst them God graciously provided for: The *Basket of good figges* God sent into the land of *Caldea* for their good: *Jer.* 24. 5. But if you rebell against God, the same God that planted you will also roote you out againe, for all the evill which you shall doe against your selves: *Jer.* 11. 17. When the Israelites liked not the soile, grew weary of the Ordinances, and forsooke the worship of God, and said, *What part have we in David?* after this they never got so good a King, nor any settled rest in the good land wherein God had planted them. As they waxed weary of God, so hee waxed wearie of them, and cast them out of his sight.

Vse 1. To exhort all that are planted at home, or intend to plant abroad, to looke well to your plantation, as you desire that the sonnes of wickedness may not afflict you at home, nor enemies abroad, looke that you be right planted, and then you need not to feare, you are safe enough: God hath spoken it, I will plant them, and they shall not be moved, neither shall the sonnes of wickedness afflict them any more.

Quest. What course would you have us take?

Answ. Have speciall care that you ever have the Ordinances planted amongst you, or else never looke for security. As soone as Gods Ordinances cease, your security ceaseth likewise; but if God plant his Ordinances among you, feare not, he will maintaine them. *Isay* 4. 5, 6. *Vpon all their glory there shall be a defence;* that is, upon all Gods Ordinances: for so was the Arke called *the Glory of Israel*, 1 *Sam.* 4. 22.

Secondly, have a care to be implanted into the Ordinances, that the word may be ingrafted into you, and you into it: If

you take rooting in the ordinances, grow up thereby, bring forth much fruit, continue and abide therein, then you are vineyard of red wine, and the Lord will keepe you, *Isay* 27. 2. 3. that no sonnes of violence shall destroy you. Looke into all the stories whether divine or humane, and you shall never finde that God ever rooted out a people that had the Ordinances planted amongst them, and themselves planted into the Ordinances: never did God suffer such plants to be plucked up; on all their glory shall be a defence.

Thirdly, be not unmindfull of our *Ierusalem* at home, whether you leave us, or stay at home with us. *Oh pray for the peace of Ierusalem, they shall prosper that love her. Psal.* 122. 6. *They shall all be confounded and turned backe that hate Sion, Psal.* 129. 5. As God continueth his presence with us, (blessed be his name) so be ye present in spirit with us, though absent in body: Forget not the wombe that bare you and the brest that gave you sucke. Even ducklings hatched under an henne, though they take the water, yet will still have recourse to the wing that hatched them: how much more should chickens of the same feather, and yolke? In the amity and unity of brethren, the Lord hath not onely promised, but commanded a blessing, even life forevermore: *Psal.* 133. 1, 2.

Fourthly, goe forth, every man that goeth, with a publick spirit, looking not on your owne things onely, but also on the things of others: *Phil.* 2. 4. This care of universall helpfulnesse was the prosperity of the first Plantation of the Primitive Church, *Acts* 4. 32.

Fifthly, have a tender care that you looke well to the plants that spring from you, that is, to your children, that they doe not degenerate as the Israelites did; after which they were vexed with afflictions on every hand. How came this to passe? *Ier.* 2. 21. *I planted them a noble Vine, holy, a right seede, how then art thou degenerate into a strange Vine before mee?* Your Ancestours were of a noble divine spirit, but if they suffer their children to degenerate, to take loose courses, then God will surely plucke you up: Otherwise if men have a care to propagate the Ordinances and Religion to their children after them, God will plant them and not roote them up. For want of this, the seede of the repenting *Ninivites* was rooted out.

Sixthly, and lastly, offend not the poore Natives, but as you partake in their land, so make them partakers of your precious faith: as you reape their temporalls, so feede them with your spiritualls: winne them to the love of Christ, for whom Christ died. They never yet refused the Gospell, and therefore more

hope they will now receive it. Who knoweth whether God have reared this whole Plantation for such an end:

Vse 2. Secondly, for consolation to them that are planted by God in any place, that finde rooting and establishing from God, this is a cause of much encouragement unto you, that what hee hath planted he will maintaine, every plantation his right hand hath not planted shalbe rooted up, but his owne plantation shall prosper, & flourish. When he promiseth peace and safety, what enemies shalstbe able to make the promise of God of none effect? Neglect not walls, and bulwarkes, and fortifications for your owne defence; but

ever let the name of the Lord be your strong
Tower; and the word of his Promise the
Rocke of your refuge. His word
that made heaven and earth
will not faile, till hea-
ven and earth be
no more

Amen.

FINIS.

Cotton's sermon on *God's Promise to his Plantation*, here reprinted, holds the same place in relation to the Massachusetts colony which Robinson's famous sermon at Delfthaven holds in relation to the Plymouth colony. It was the farewell sermon to Winthrop's company, as Robinson's sermon was the farewell to the Pilgrim Fathers. Yet the great historical significance of this sermon has been strangely overlooked. The fact of its delivery is hardly mentioned in any of the well-known histories; and one of Cotton's later biographers (McClure) even assigns it to a date after Cotton had taken up his residence in New England. The reading of the sermon itself should have prevented such a mistake, as its character is apparent. Explicit information concerning it we have in Scottow's *Narrative of the Planting of the Massachusetts Colony*, 1694 (reprinted in the Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections, fourth series, vol. iv., 1858). "Some of their choice friends," says Scottow, speaking of the departure of the Massachusetts company, "as the Reverend Mr. Cotton and others, went along with them from Boston in Lincolnshire to Southampton, where they parted and he preacht his farewell sermon." "Not long after this, Mr. Cotton's farewell sermon (above mentioned) was printed at London, and since reprinted at Boston, entituled, *God's Promise to his Plantation*, wherein he exhorted them to remember England, their mother, and that they should not be like those ingrateful birds, who when they had swum over a stream or river, forgot the wing that had hatcht them." The first London edition of the sermon was printed in 1630. There is a copy of

this in the library of the Mass. Hist. Soc. Another edition was printed in London in 1634; and this was "Reprinted at Boston in New England, by Samuell Green; and are to be sold by John Usher. Anno. 1686." The address "To the Christian Reader," signed by J. H., which prefixes the sermon, was probably written, Prince says, by John Humphrey. The sermon has an added historical value in being the first printed work by Cotton of which we have any record. (See Charles Deane, in *N.E. Hist. and Gen. Register*, ii. 151, 318.)

John Cotton was born in Derby, Eng., in 1585. He studied at Cambridge, where he gained a high reputation for learning, and where he imbibed Puritan opinions. He became vicar of St. Botolph's Church at Boston, in Lincolnshire, about 1612, remaining there for twenty years, and becoming known as one of the leading preachers in England. He came to New England in 1633, was immediately chosen teacher of the First Church in Boston, and retained his connection with this church till his death, in 1652. He took a leading part in the controversies with Anne Hutchinson and Roger Williams. He was a voluminous writer, being the author of nearly fifty books, all of which were sent to London for publication. His *Way of the Churches of Christ in New England* is one of the ablest expositions of Congregationalism. His *Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven* expounds his theocratic ideas of government. His *Bloody Tenent Washed and made White in the Blood of the Lamb* is his principal work in opposition to Roger Williams. His *Milk for Babes, drawn out of the Breasts of both Testaments, chiefly for the Spiritual Nourishment of Boston Babes in either England, but may be of use for any children*, was a famous catechism in its day, and was translated for the Indians.

The Life of Cotton, by his friend, Rev. Samuel Whiting, of Lynn, is included in Young's *Chronicles of Massachusetts*, together with several important letters by Cotton, one giving the reasons for his removal to New England. Both Cotton Mather and John Norton wrote lives of Cotton, drawing largely upon Whiting. See the valuable article on "John Cotton in Church and State," by Rev. George E. Ellis, in the *International Review*, October, 1880.



Letters of Roger Williams to Winthrop.

*For his much honored, Mr. John Winthrop, Deputy Governor
these.*

[1636 or 1637.]¹

MUCH HONORED SIR,—The frequent experience of your loving ear, ready and open toward me (in what your conscience hath permitted) as also of that excellent spirit of wisdom and prudence wherewith the Father of Lights hath endued you, embolden me to request a word of private advise with the soonest convenience, if it may be, by this messenger.

The condition of myself and those few families here planting with me, you know full well: we have no Patent: nor doth the face of Magistracy suit with our present condition. Hitherto, the masters of families have ordinarily met once a fortnight and consulted about our common peace, watch, and planting; and mutual consent have finished all matters with speed and peace.

Now of late some young men, single persons (of whom we had much need) being admitted to freedom of inhabitation, and promising to be subject to the orders made by the consent of the householders, are discontented with their estate, and seek the freedom of vote also, and equality, &c.

¹ This letter, which is without date, is addressed to Winthrop, as Deputy Governor, which office he held for the political year ending May 17, 1637. It was evidently written shortly after the settlement at Providence, which it is believed was in June, 1636. The letter refers to preparations against the Pequots, probably to Endicott's expedition which sailed from Boston the last of August of that year. After destroying the Indian settlement on Block Island, it sailed for Thames River. Endicott reached Boston on his return on the 14th of September.—WINTHROP, *Hist. N. Eng.* p. 231-233. DRAKE, *Hist. Boston*, p. 201. The letter, therefore, was probably written in August or September. Winthrop refers to letters received by him from Williams, July 26th and 30th, and Aug. 26th, but neither alludes to the matters spoken of in the letter in question. (vol. i. p. 227-230.) The letter is interesting, inasmuch as it is the earliest account extant relating to the settlement at Providence and of the manner in which the civil affairs of the little community there were conducted.—*Bartlett*.

Beside, our dangers (in the midst of these dens of lions) now especially, call upon us to be compact in a civil way and power.

I have therefore had thoughts of propounding to my neighbors a double subscription, concerning which I shall humbly crave your help.

The first concerning ourselves, the masters of families: thus,

We whose names are hereunder written, late inhabitants of the Massachusetts, (upon occasion of some difference of conscience,) being permitted to depart from the limits of that Patent, under the which we came over into these parts, and being cast by the Providence of the God of Heaven, remote from others of our countrymen amongst the barbarians in this town of New Providence, do with free and joint consent promise each unto other, that, for our common peace and welfare (until we hear further of the King's royal pleasure concerning ourselves) we will from time to time subject ourselves in active or passive obedience to such orders and agreements, as shall be made by the greater number of the present householders, and such as shall be hereafter admitted by their consent into the same privilege and covenant in our ordinary meeting. In witness whereof we hereunto subscribe, &c.

Concerning those few young men, and any who shall hereafter (by your favorable connivance) desire to plant with us, this,—

We whose names are hereunder written, being desirous to inhabit in this Town of New Providence, do promise to subject ourselves in active or passive obedience to such orders and agreements as shall be made from time to time, by the greater number of the present householders of this Town, and such whom they shall admit into the same fellowship and privilege. In witness whereof, &c.

Hitherto we choose one, (named the officer,) to call the meeting at the appointed time: now it is desired by some of us that the householders by course perform that work, as also gather votes and see the watch go on, &c.

I have not yet mentioned these things to my neighbors, but shall as I see cause upon your loving counsel.

As also since the place I have purchased, secondly, at mine own charge and engagements, the inhabitants paying (by consent thirty shillings a piece as they come, until my charge be out for their particular lots: and thirdly, that I never made any other covenant with any person, but that if I got a place he should plant there with me: my query is this,—

Whither I may not lawfully desire this of my neighbors, that

as I freely subject myself to common consent, and shall not bring in any person into the town without their consent: so also that against my consent no person be violently brought in and received.

I desire not to sleep in security and dream of a nest which no hand can reach. I cannot but expect changes, and the change of the last enemy death, yet dare I not despise a liberty, which the Lord seemeth to offer me, if for mine own or others peace: and therefore have I been thus bold to present my thoughts unto you.

The Pequots hear of your preparations, &c., and comfort themselves in this, that a witch amongst them will sink the pin-naces, by diving under water and making holes, &c., as also that they shall now enrich themselves with store of guns, but I hope their dreams (through the mercy of the Lord) shall vanish, and the devil and his lying forcerers shall be confounded.

You may please, Sir, to take notice that it is of main consequence to take some course with the Wunnashowatuckoogs and Wusquowhananawkits, who are the furthestmost Neepnet men, for the Pequots driven from the sea coast with ease, yet there secure and strengthen themselves, and are then brought down so much the nearer to you. Thus with my best respects to your loving self and Mrs. Winthrop, I rest,

Your Worships unfeigned, praying to meet you in this vale of tears or hills of mercy above.

R. WILLIAMS.

PROVIDENCE the 24th of the 8th.

SIR, WORTHY AND WELL BELOVED,—I was abroad about the Pequot business when your letter arrived, and since messengers have not fitted, &c.

I therefore now thankfully acknowledge your wisdom and gentleness in receiving so lovingly my late rude and foolish lines: you bear with fools gladly because you are wise.

I still wait upon your love and faithfulness for those poor papers, and cannot but believe that your heart, tongue, and pen should be one, if I were Turk or Jew, &c.

Your six queries I welcome, my love forbidding me to surmise that a Pharisee, a Sadducee, an Herodian, &c., wrote them; but rather that your love and pity framed them as a physician to the sick, &c.

He that made us these souls and searcheth them, that made the ear and eye, and therefore sees and hears I lie not, but in

his prefence have fadly fequeftered myfelf to his holy tribunal, and your interrogatories, begging from his throne thofe feven fiery lamps and eyes, his holy Spirit, to help the scrutiny, defirous to fufpect myfelf above the old ferpent himfelf, and remembering that he that truſteth in his own heart is a fool. Prov. 28.

While I anfwer let me importune from your loving breaft that good opinion that you deal with one (however fo and fo, in your judgment yet) ferious, and defirous in the matters of God's Sanctuary to ufe (as the double weights of the Sanctuary teach us) double diligence.

Your firſt Querie then is this.

What have you gained by your new-found praćtices? &c.

I confeſs my gains caſt up in man's exchange are loſs of friends, eſteem, maintenance, &c., but what was gain in that reſpect I deſire to count loſs for the excellency of the knowledge of Chriſt Jeſus my Lord: &c. To His all glorious Name I know I have gained the honor of one of his poor witneſſes, though in ſackcloth.

To your beloved ſelves and others of God's people yet aſleep, this witneſs in the Lord's ſeaſon at your waking ſhall be prosperous, and the feed ſown ſhall ariſe to the greater purity of the kingdom and ordinances of the Prince of the kings of the earth.

To myſelf (through his rich grace) my tribulation hath brought ſome conſolation and more evidence of his love, ſinging Moſes his ſong and the Lambs, in that weak victory which (through His help) I have gotten over the beaſt, his picture, his mark, and number of his name, Revel. 15. 2. 3.

If you aſk for numbers, the witneſſes are but two: Revel. 11., and how many millions of Chriſtians in name, and thouſands of Chriſtians in heart, do call the truths (wherein yourſelf and I agree in witneſſing) new found praćtices?

Gideon's army was thirty-two thouſand; but cowardice returned twenty-two thouſand back, and nine thouſand ſeven hundred worldlings ſent but three hundred to the battle.

I will not by prophecy exaſperate, but wiſh (in the black and ſtormy day) your company be not leſs than Gideon's to fight (I mean with the Blood of the Lamb and Word of Witneſs) for what you profeſs to ſee.

To your ſecond, viz.: Is your ſpirit as even as it was ſeven years ſince?

I will not follow the faſhion either in commending or condemning of myſelf. You and I ſtand at one dreadful, dreadful

tribunal: yet what is past I desire to forget, and to press forward towards the mark for the price of the high calling of God in Christ.

And for the evenness of my spirit.

Toward the Lord, I hope I more long to know and do His holy pleasure only, and to be ready not only to be banished, but to die in New England for the name of the Lord Jesus.

Towards yourselves, I have hitherto begged of the Lord an even spirit, and I hope ever shall, as

First, reverently to esteem of, and tenderly to respect the persons of many hundreds of you, &c.

Secondly, To rejoice to spend and be spent in any service, (according to my conscience) for your welfares.

Thirdly, To rejoice to find out the least swerving in judgment or practice from the help of any, even the least of you.

Lastly, to mourn daily, heavily, unceasingly, till the Lord look down from Heaven, and bring all his precious living stones into one New Jerusalem.

To your third, viz.: Are you not grieved that you have grieved so many?

I say with Paul, I vehemently sorrow for the sorrow of any of Zion's daughters, who should ever rejoice in her King, &c., yet I must (and O that I had not cause) grieve because so many of Zion's daughters see not and grieve not for their souls defilements, and that so few bear John company in weeping after the unfolding of the seals, which only weepers are acquainted with.

You thereupon propound a fourth, Do you think the Lord hath utterly forsaken us?

I answer Jehovah will not forsake His people for His great name's sake 1. Sam. 12. That is, the fire of His love towards those whom once He loves is eternal, like Himself: and thus far be it from me to question His eternal love towards you, &c. Yet if you grant that ever you were as Abraham among the Chaldees, Lot among the Sodomites, the Kenites among the Amalekites, as Israel in Egypt or Babel, and that under pain of their plagues and judgments you were bound to leave them, depart, fly out, (not from the places as in the type,) but from the filthiness, of their sins, &c., and if it prove, as I know assuredly it shall, that though you have come far, yet you never came out of the wilderness to this day: then, I beseech you, remember that yourselves, and so also many thousands of God's people must yet mournfully read the 74, 79, 80, and 89 Psalms, the Lamentations, Daniel 11th, and Revel. 11th, 12th, 13th, and this, Sir, I beseech you do more seriously then ever, and abstract

yourself with a holy violence from the dung heap of this earth, the credit and comfort of it, and cry to Heaven to remove the stumbling blocks, such idols, after which sometimes the Lord will give His own Israel an answer.

Sir, You request me to be free with you, and therefore blame me not if I answer your request, desiring the like payment from your own dear hand, at any time, in any thing.

And let me add, that amongst all the people of God, wherefore scattered about Babel's banks, either in Rome or England, &c., your case is the worst by far, because while others of God's Israel tenderly respect such as desire to fear the Lord, your very judgment and conscience leads you to smite and beat your fellow servants, expel them your coasts, &c., and therefore, though I know the elect shall never finally be forsaken, yet Sodom's, Egypt's, Amalek's, Babel's judgments ought to drive us out, to make our calling out of this world to Christ, and our election sure in him.

Sir, Your fifth is, From what spirit, and to what end do you drive?

Concerning my spirit, as I said before, I could declaim against it, but whether the spirit of Christ Jesus, for whose visible kingdom and ordinances I witness, &c, or the spirit of Antichrist (1 John 4) against whom only I contest, do drive me, let the Father of Spirits be pleased to search, and (worthy Sir) be you also pleased by the word to search: and I hope you will find that as you say you do, I also seek Jesus who was nailed to the gallows, I ask the way to lost Zion, I witness what I believe I see patiently (the Lord assisting) in sackcloth, I long for the bright appearance of the Lord Jesus to consume the man of sin: I long for the appearance of the Lamb's wife also, New Jerusalem: I wish heartily prosperity to you all, Governor and people, in your civil way, and mourn that you see not your poverty, nakedness, &c., in spirituals, and yet I rejoice in the hopes that as the way of the Lord to Apollo, so within a few years (through, I fear though, many tribulations) the way of the Lord Jesus, the first and most ancient path, shall be more plainly discovered to you and me.

Lastly, You ask whether my former condition would not have stood with a gracious heart, &c.?

At this Query, Sir, I wonder much, because you know what sins, yea all manner of sins, (the sin unto death excepted,) a child of God may lie in, instance I need not.

Secondly, When it comes to matter of conscience that the stroke lies upon the very judgment, that the thing practiced is

lawful, &c., as the polygamy of the Saints, the building of the Temple, (if David had gone on,) the many false ministries and ministrations (like the ark upon the new cart) which from Luther's times to this day, God's children have conscientiously practiced. Who then can wonder (and yet indeed who can not but wonder) how a gracious heart, before the Lord's awakening, and calling, and drawing out, may lie in many abominations?

Two instances I shall be bold to present you with. First, do you not hope Bishop Usher hath a gracious heart? and secondly, Do you not judge that your own heart was gracious even when (with the poisoned shirt on your back) you, &c.?

But while another judgeth the condition fair, the soul that fears, doubts, and feels a guilt hath broken bones, &c. Now, worthy Sir, I must call up your wisdom, your love, your patience, your promise and faithfulness, candid ingenuity, &c. My heart's desire is abundant, and exceeds my pen. My head and actions willing to live (as the Apostle Paul) χαλῶς ἐν πᾶσι. Where I err, Christ be pleased to restore me, where I stand, to establish. If you please I have also a few Queries to yourself, without your leave I will not: but will ever mourn, (the Lord assisting,) that I am no more (though I hope ever) yours,

R: WILL:

Sir, Concerning natives: the Pequots and Nayantaquits resolve to live and die together, and not to yield up one. Last night tidings came that the Mohawks, (the cannibals,) have slain some of our countrymen at Connecticut. I hope it is not true.¹

To John Winthrop, Governor, &c.

For his much honored Mr. Governor, and MR. WINTHROP, Deputy Governor of the Massachusetts, these.

NEW PROVIDENCE, this 2d of the week. [May, 1637.]

SIR,—The latter end of the last week I gave notice to our neighbor princes of your intentions and preparations against the common enemy, the Pequots. At my first coming to them Canonicus (*morosus æque ac barbarex senex*) was very four, and

¹ The editor of the "*Winthrop Papers*" (4 *Mass. Hist. Coll.* vol. vi.) does not assign any date for this letter. Williams begins by simply alluding to the "Pequot business." We infer from this that the Pequot war had not begun. With the exception of this paragraph, the letter relates wholly to religious affairs: with replies to queries put to him by Winthrop, about his "new found practices." May not this refer to his entire freedom in the exercise of his religious opinions in his new abode?—*Bartlett.*

accused the English and myself for sending the plague amongst them, and threatening to kill him especially.

Such tidings (it seems) were lately brought to his ears by some of his flatterers and our ill-willers. I discerned cause of bestirring myself, and staid the longer, and at last (through the mercy of the Most High) I not only sweetened his spirit, but possessed him, that the plague and other sicknesses were alone in the hand of the one God, who made him and us, who being displeased with the English for lying, stealing, idleness and uncleanness, (the natives' epidemical sins,) smote many thousands of us ourselves with general and late mortalities.

Miantunnomu kept his barbarous court lately at my house, and with him I have far better dealing. He takes some pleasure to visit me, and sent me word of his coming over again some eight days hence.

They pass not a week without some skirmishings, though hitherto little loss on either side. They were glad of your preparations, and in much conference with themselves and others, (sitting *de industria* for instructions from them,) I gathered these observations, which you may please (as cause may be) to consider and take notice of :

1. They conceive that to do execution to purpose on the Pequots, will require not two or three days and away, but a riding by it and following of the work to and again the space of three weeks or a month, that there be a falling off and a retreat, as if you were departed, and a falling on again within three or four days, when they are returned again to their houses securely from their flight.

2. That if any pinnaces come in ken, they presently prepare for flight, women and old men and children, to a swamp some three or four miles on the back of them, a marvellous great and secure swamp, which they called Ohomowauke, which signifies owl's nest, and by another name, Cuppacommock, which signifies a refuge or hiding place, as I conceive.

3. That therefore Nayantaquit, (which is Miantunnomue's place of rendezvous,) to be thought on for the riding and retiring to of vessel or vessels, which place is faithful to the Narragansetts and at present enmity with the Pequots.

4. They also conceive it easy for the English, that the provisions and munitions first arrive at Aquedneck, called by us Rhode Island, at the Narragansett's mouth, and then a messenger may be despatched hither, and so to the bay, for the soldiers to march up by land to the vessels, who otherwise might spend long time about the cape and fill more vessels than needs.

5. That the affault would be in the night, when they are commonly more secure and at home, by which advantage the English, being armed, may enter the houses and do what execution they please.

6. That before the affault be given, an ambush be laid behind them, between them and the swamp, to prevent their flight, &c.

7. That to that purpose such guides as shall be best liked of to be taken along to direct, especially two Pequots, viz.: Wequash and Wuttackquiackommin, valiant men, especially the latter, who have lived these three or four years with the Narragansetts, and know every pass and passage amongst them, who desire armor to enter their houses.

8. That it would be pleasing to all natives, that women and children be spared, &c.

9. That if there be any more land travel to Connecticut, some course would also be taken with the Wunhowatuckoogs, who are confederates with and a refuge to the Pequots.

Sir, if any thing be sent to the princes, I find that Canonicus would gladly accept of a box of eight or ten pounds of sugar, and indeed he told me he would thank Mr. Governor for a box full.

Sir, you may please to take notice of a rude view, how the Pequots lie :

River Connecticut.

○ a fort of the Nayantic men, confederate with the Pequots.

Mohigadic

River.

<i>Wein</i> ○ <i>shauks, where</i>	<i>Ohom</i> <i>owauke, the swamp,</i>
<i>Sassaens the chief Sachem is.</i>	<i>three or four miles from—</i>
<i>Mis</i> ○ <i>tick, where is Mamobo, another chief sachim.</i>	

River.

Nayantic, ○ *where is Wepiteammock and our friends.*

River.

Thus, with my best salutes to your worthy selves and loving friends with you, and daily cries to the Father of mercies for a merciful issue to all these enterprises, I rest

Your worship's unfeignedly respective

ROGER WILLIAMS.

To his much honored Governor John Winthrop.

NEW PROVIDENCE, 21 of 5th monthe. [July 21, 1637.]

MUCH HONORED SIR,—My unfeigned love and respect to your soul's eternal comfort, and firm perswasion of your leveling at the highest white, have emboldened me once more to tell you of some poor thoughts of mine own, penned and sent to some friends amongst you ; which happily, (if the good Lord so please) may some way conduce to your soul's satisfaction in the midst of all your troubles.

I have been long requested to write my grounds against the English preaching, &c., and especially my answers to some reasons of Mr. Robinson's¹ for hearing.

In the midst of a multitude of barbarous distractions, I have fitted something to that purpose: and being not able at present to transcribe the whole ; yet having been long solicited by Mr. Buckley² (from whom I received some objections,) and by many others, and of late by my worthy friend Mr. Peters,³ who had sight of them, I have thought good to send so much as I have transcribed, to the hand of my loving friend, Mr. Buckley.

Sir, I am bold to give you this intimation, because in these first loose leaves, handling the state of a National church, from the thirty-eight page I have enlarged the differences between Israel and all other states. I know and am persuaded that your misguidings are great and lamentable, and the further you pass in your way, the further you wander, and have the further to come back, and the end of one vexation will be but the beginning of another, till conscience be permitted (though erroneous) to be free amongst you.

I am sorry my straits are such that I cannot transcribe the remainder, and especially what concerns the matter most concerning your dear self, and therein especially the affoiling of some objections, but if the Lord please I live I shall endeavor the rest, and thankfully receive any intimation from yourself, yea from the least, whereby I might myself return from any

¹ Rev. John Robinson, pastor of the church at Leyden. He published a number of his writings, but the one to which this probably refers is "A treatise of the lawfulness of hearing of the ministers in the Church of England," which was not printed until 1634, nine years after his death and three years prior to the date of this letter.

² Rev. Peter Bulkley, of Concord, Mass., one of its founders in 1636.

³ "Hugh Peters, born in 1599, arrived in America in August, 1635, with Richard Mather; and in the following year took charge of the church in Salem, as successor of Roger Williams."

wanderings. The Lord Jefus be to you and me the Way, the Truth, and he will be the Life alfo. So prays

Your worfhip's moft unfeigned

ROGER WILLIAMS.

I have no news, but from Connecticut, the receiving of Safacous, his prefent and company by the Mohawks, and fome promifes of theirs to him to fettle him again at Pequot. This week Souwonckquawfir, old Sequin's fon, cut off twenty Pequot women and children in their paffage to the Mohawks, alfo one Sachem who three years ago was with you in the Bay with a prefent.

*To his much honored John Winthrop, Governor of the
Maffachufetts.*

[No date; probably October or November, 1637.]

MUCH HONORED SIR,—I was fearful that thofe dead hands were no pleafing fight (otherwife than a remarkable vengeance had feized upon the firft murderer of the Englifh, Wauphanck,) yet I was willing to permit what I could not approve, leaft if I had buried the prefent myfelf, I fhould have incurred fufpicion of pride and wronged my betters, in the natives and others eyes: I have always fhown diflike to fuch difmembering the dead, and now the more, (according to your defire) in your name.

I was alfo fearful that mine own hand (having no commiffion from my heart (which is not in mine hand but in the hand of its Maker, the Moft High) to write you ought of mine own return in fpirituals,) I fay fearful that mine own might not be fo grateful and pleafing to you: but being called upon by your meffage and your love, (your paper), I am emboldened.

Concerning the Pequots, the foldiers here related to me that Uncas the Mohiganie Sachem had about three hundred men with him on the Pequot river, fome fixteen miles from the houfe, which I believe are moft of them Pequots and their confederates the Wunnafhowatuckoogs and their Inlanders (whom he charged under pain of death not to come to Canon-icus) and with whom he hath made himfelf great. This man is but a little Sachem, and hath not above forty or fifty Mohigans, which as the Englifh told me were all he could make.

¹ "The Narragansetts sent us the hands of three Pequots; one the chief of thofe who murdered Capt. Stone," August 31, 1637.—WINTHROP, vol. i. p. 283.

It is generally confirmed that Thomas Stanton, (as himself also confessed to me at my house) was grossly confused and deluded by one Wequashcuck (a Nayantaquit Sachem) who sheltered four Pequot Sachems and fifty Pequots at Long Island, where now they are, where peace was made with promise from the natives not to permit one Pequot; yet Wequashcuck marrying Saffacous his mother hath thus deceived you. This Wequashcuck was the man (to my knowledge) that sheltered Audsah, the murderer of Mr. Oldham, and kept his head so upon his shoulders: yet to this man Thomas Stanton (as it appears) did too much listen, flighting I fear, too much the Narragansetts.

I find our Neighbors very eager to pursue these four Sachems and the fifty Pequots there, I pressed them to patience till Mr. Governor's mind be known, and Miantunnomu (to my knowledge) doth all he can to restrain them, or else long since they had been there. They plead that Mr. Governor may please to accompany, or send himself against them, but cannot by any article in the league bind them to suffer so many of their enemies in a knot so near them.

I press them to humane consideration of so much blood spilt, they answer if they have the Sachems heads they will make the rest Narragansetts, and for the Long Islanders themselves and Wequashcuck, they will not meddle with them, because of the peace Mr. Stoughton made with them.

Concerning the kettles: Miantunnomu answers, that he hath been much wronged by the reports of enemies and false friends to whom some of us (as he saith) hath hearkened before himself.

He saith he never knew of more than two, one of which the English used at the house, and the other as he hears is at the Fort still: he saith, he hath many of his own, and indeed when I came first hither I saw near ten or twelve which himself or Canonicus had.

He repaid me with a grievance about a Pequot canoe which he desired might be ordered by your own hearing, but it was denied him: his plea seems very fair: thus this brother Yoteash having taken the great Sachem (Puttaquappuonckquame who was kept in the pinnace alive sometime) took his canoe, which, saith he, the English Captains sitting all together were very willing unto: this canoe Mr. Stoughton afterwards brought about homeward: Miantunnomu and his brother claim it: 'twas denied: he requested that it might be left at my house till Mr. Governor's mind was known. Capt. Stoughton would not yield, but desired him to go along to me, but saith he, I

would not trust myself with him, seeing he would not stand to Mr. Governor's determination about the canoe: I would not have mentioned this least it might provoke Mr. Stoughton or any: but I know to whom I intimate it: and I have pretty well appeased the matter already.

He answers, all I can object to him with this: let Mr. Governor have the hearing of it: I will rest in his word, and objecting to him in the particular before divers, that the English complain he was proud, he desired that I would present to Mr. Governor these particulars, that he had cause to maintain his right, because the Connecticut English equalled Uncas and the Mohigans with himself and his men.

Whereas faith he, these Mohigans are but as a twig, we are as a great tree.

They fell to the English but last year, we have been ever friends, &c.

Uncas and his men had a hand in the death of all the English and fought against the Rivers mouth (at Connecticut) we never killed nor consented to the death of an English man.

When the Dutchmen and we fought with the Pequots the Mohigans joined against us.

When Capt. Endicott came against the Pequots the Mohigans received the Pequot women and children and kept them, while the men fought with him, &c.

Uncas brought presents to Canonicus, and Miantunnomu, yet at the same time killed two of his women treacherously.

They fell to the English this year in fear or other policy, and we, (faith he) have continued friendship and love ever since they landed. Thus he pleaded, &c., and yet proud and covetous and filthy they are, &c., only I was willing to gratify him in this, because as I know your own heart studies peace, and their soul's good, so your wisdom may make use of it unto others who happily take some more pleasure in wars: The blessed God of Peace be pleased to give you peace within, at home, and round about you abroad So prays

Your worship's unfeignedly respective

ROGER WILLIAMS.

To Mrs. Winthrop, Mr. Deputy, Mr. Bellingham, &c., all respective salutations.

I have at present returned Richard Collicut's Pequot girl which Miantunnomu found out, and desired me to send home, with promise of further enquiring.

To his much honored Governor John Winthrop.

PROVIDENCE, 28th of the 12th. [February 28, 1637-8.]

SIR,—Some few days since I received letters from Mr. Hooker, who had safely received your packet with thanks, &c.

He intimated that according to Miantunnomue's information by myself, William Baker was hid at Mohegan, but they had made Uncas and Wequash to bring him in. Since which time (Sergeant Holmes bailing him) he is again escaped.

He also signified the desire of the Magistrates at Connecticut that there the meeting should be: as also that in the mean season they had charged the Mohegans not to molest any natives in their passage and travel, &c., requiring the same of the Narragansetts towards the Mohegans.

Accordingly I have been since at Narragansett and find Miantunnomu willing to go to Connecticut by the time limited, the end of the next month; only first he desired to know Mr. Governor's mind: secondly, in case his father-in-law Canonicus his brother, (whom I saw near death with above a thousand men mourning and praying about him) in case he recover, otherwise it is unlawful for them (as they conceive,) to go far from home till toward midsummer. Thirdly, he desires earnestly my company, as being not so confident of the English at Connecticut, who have been (I fear) too full of threatnings: secondly, he cannot be confident of Tho: Stanton's faithfulness in point of interpretation. These things make me much desire (as I have written back) that you would both please by some deputed to make my poor house the centre where seems to be the fairest offer of convenience, and I hope no question of welcome.

Visiting Canonicus, lately recovered from the pit's brink this winter, he asked how Mr. Governor and the English did, requesting me to send him two words: first, that he would be thankful to Mr. Governor for some sugar (for I had sent him mine own in the depth of the winter and his sickness.) Secondly, he called for his sword, which said he, Mr. Governor did send me by you and others of the English, saying Mr. Governor protested he would not put up his sword, nor would he have us put up ours, till the Pequots were subdued, and yet faith he, at Mohegan there are near three hundred, who have bound and robbed our men as they have past from Connecticut hither: after much more to this purpose, I told him that Mr. Governor had promised him to set all in order this spring.

Sir, I understand that Uncas the Mohegan hath safacious

his sister to wife, and one of the wives of Sasacus his father Tattapaine, and that is one reason, beside his ambition and nearness, that he hath drawn all the scattered Pequots to himself and drawn much wealth from them: more I could trouble you with, &c.

Canonicus and Miantunnomu both desired that there might be a division made of these surviving Pequots (except the Sachems and murderers) and let their share be at your own wisdom.

I shall be humbly bold to present mine own thoughts concerning a division and disposal of them: since the Most High delights in mercy, and great revenge hath been already taken, what if (the murderers being executed) the rest be divided and dispersed, (according to their number shall arise, and division be thought fit) to become subjects to yourselves in the Bay and at Connecticut, which they will more easily do in case they may be suffered to incorporate with the natives in either places: as also that as once Edgar the Peaceable did with the Welsh in North Wales, a tribute of wolves heads be imposed on them, &c., which (with submission) I conceive an incomparable way to save much cattle alive in the land.

Sir, I hope shortly to send you good news of great hopes the Lord hath sprung up in mine eye, of many a poor Indian soul enquiring after God. I have convinced hundreds at home and abroad that in point of religion they are all wandering, &c. I find what I could never hear before, that they have plenty of Gods or divine powers: the Sun, Moon, Fire, Water, Snow, Earth, the Deer, the Bear, &c., are divine powers. I brought home lately from the Narragansetts the names of thirty-eight of their Gods, all they could remember, and had I not with fear and caution withdrew, they would have fallen to worship, O God, (as they speak) one day in seven, but I hope the time is not long that some shall truly bless the God of Heaven that ever they saw the face of English men. So waiting for your pleasure and advice to our neighbors concerning this intended meeting for the establishing of peace through all the bowels of the country, and beseeching the Most High to vouchsafe his peace and truth through all your quarters, with my due respects to Mrs. Winthrop, Mr. Deputy, Mr. Bellingham, &c., I rest

Your worship's in all true respect and affection.

ROGER WILLIAMS.

Sir, I heard no more as yet from Charlestown men coming this way. Mr. Coxall and Mr. Aspinwall have sent to me about some of these parts, and in case for shelter for their wives and children.

For his much honored Mr. Governor, John Winthrop.

PROVIDENCE, [June, 1638.]

SIR,—I sometimes fear that my lines are as thick and overbushy as the musketoes, &c., but your wisdom will connive, and your love will cover, &c.

Two things at present for information.

First in the affairs of the Most High; his late dreadful voice and hand: that audible and sensible voice, the Earthquake.¹

All these parts felt it, (whether beyond the Narragansett I yet learn not), for myself I scarce perceived ought but a kind of thunder and a gentle moving, &c., and yet it was no more this way to many of our own and the natives apprehensions, and but one sudden short motion.

The younger natives are ignorant of the like: but the elder inform me that this is the fifth within these four score years in the land: the first about three score and ten years since: the second some three score and four years since, the third some fifty-four years since, the fourth some forty-six since: and they always observed either plague or pox or some other epidemical disease followed; three, four or five years after the Earthquake, (or Naunaumemoauke, as they speak).

He be mercifully pleased himself to interpret and open his own riddles, and grant if it be pleasing in his eyes) it may not be for destruction, and but (as the Earthquake before the Jailor's conversion) a means of shaking and turning of all hearts, (which are his,) English or Indian, to him. To further this (if the Lord please) the Earthquake sensibly took about a thousand of the natives in a most solemn meeting for play, &c.

Secondly, a word in mine own particular, only for information. I owe between 50 and 60*li* to Mr. Cradock for commodities received from Mr. Mayhew. Mr. Mayhew will testify that (being Mr. Cradock's agent) he was content to take payment, what (and when) my house at Salem yielded: accordingly I long since put it into his hand, and he into Mr. Jollies', who beside my voluntary act and his attachment since, sues as I hear for damages, which I question: since I have not failed against contract and content of the first agent, but the holy

¹ WINTHROP, under date of June 1, thus records this event: "Between three and four in the afternoon, being clear, warm weather, the wind westerly, there was a great earthquake. It came with a noise like a continued thunder or the rattling of coaches in London, but was presently gone. It was at Connecticut, at Narragansett, at Piscataquack, and all parts round about. It shook the ships, which rode in the harbour, and all the islands, etc. The noise and the shakings continued about four minutes. The earth was unquiet twenty days after, by times."—*Hist. of New England*, vol. 1. p. 319.

pleasure of the Lord be done: unto whose merciful arms (with all due respects) I leave you, wishing heartily that mercy and goodness may ever follow you and yours.

ROGER WILLIAMS.

Sir, to your dear companion, Mr. Deputy, Mr. Bellingham, and theirs, all respective salutes, &c.

To his much honored Governor John Winthrop.

[September or October, 1638.]

MUCH HONORED SIR,—Through the mercy of the Most High, I am newly returned from a double journey to Connecticut and Plymouth. I shall presume on your wonted love and gentleness to present you with a short relation of what issue it pleased the Lord to produce out of them, especially since your worship's name was some way engaged in both.

I went up to Connecticut with Miantunnomu, who had a guard of upwards of one hundred and fifty men, and many Sachems, and his wife and children, with him. By the way (lodging from his house three nights in the woods) we met divers Narragansett men complaining of robbery and violence, which they had sustained from the Pequots and Mohegans in their travel from Connecticut; as also some of the Wunna-howatuckoogs (subject to Canonicus) came to us and advertised, that two days before, about six hundred and sixty Pequots, Mohegans and their confederates had robbed them, and spoiled about twenty-three fields of corn, and rifled four Narragansett men amongst them; as also that they lay in way and wait to stop Miantunnomue's passage to Connecticut, and divers of them threatened to boil him in the kettle.

These tidings being many ways confirmed, my company, Mr. Scott (a Suffolk man) and Mr. Cope, advised our stop and turn back; unto which I also advised the whole company, to prevent bloodshed, resolving to get up to Connecticut by water, hoping there to stop such courses. But Miantunnomu and his council resolved (being then about fifty miles, half-way, on our journey) that not a man should turn back, resolving rather all to die, keeping strict watch by night, and in dangerous places a guard by day about the Sachems, Miantunnomu and his wife, who kept the path, myself and company always first, and on either side of the path forty or fifty men to prevent sudden surprisals. This was their Indian march.

But it pleased the Father of mercies, that (as we since heard) we came not by till two days after the time given out by Miantunnomu, (by reason of staying for me until the Lord's day was over,) as also the Lord sent a rumor of great numbers of the English in company with the Narragansetts, so that we came safe to Connecticut.

Being arrived, Uncas had sent messengers that he was lame, and could not come. Mr. Haynes said, it was a lame excuse, and sent earnestly for him, who at last came, and being charged by Mr. Haynes with the late outrages, one of his company said, they were but an hundred men. He said, he was with them, but did not see all that was done, and they did but roast corn, &c. So there being affirmations and negations concerning the numbers of men and the spoil, not having eye-witnesses of our own, that fell, as also many other mutual complaints of rifling each other, which were heard at large to give vent and breathing to both parts.

At last we drew them to shake hands, Miantunnomu and Uncas; and Miantunnomu invited (twice earnestly) Uncas to sup and dine with him, he and all his company (his men having killed some venison;) but he would not yield, although the magistrates persuaded him also to it.

In a private conference, Miantunnomu, from Canonicus and himself, gave in the names of all the Pequots Sachems and murderers of the English. The names of the Sachems were acknowledged by Uncas, as also the places, which only I shall be bold to set down:

Naupipouck, Puttaquappuonckquame his son, now on Long Island.

Nanasquiouwut, Puttaquappuonckquame his brother at Mohegan.

Puppompogs, Saacous his brother, at Mohegan.

Maulaumpous, at Nayantick.

Kithansh, at Mohegan.

Attayakitch, at Pequot or Mohegan.

These, with the murderers, the magistrates desired to cut off, the rest to divide, and to abolish their names. An inquisition was made; and it was affirmed from Canonicus, that he had not one. Miantunnomu gave in the names of ten or eleven, which were the remainders of near seventy, which at the first subjected themselves, of which I advertised your worship, but all again departed, or never came to him; so that two or three of these he had with him; the rest were at Mohegan and Pequot.

Uncas was desired to give in the names of his. He answered, that he knew not their names. He said there were forty on Long Island; and that Juanemo and three Nayantick Sachems had Pequots, and that he himself had but twenty. Thomas Stanton told him and the magistrates, that he dealt very falsely; and it was affirmed by others, that he fetched thirty or forty from Long Island at one time. Then he acknowledged, that he had thirty, but the names he could not give. It pleased the magistrates to request me to send to Nayantick, that the names of their Pequots might be sent to Connecticut; as also to give Uncas ten days to bring in the number and names of his Pequots and their runaways, Mr. Haynes threatening also (in case of failing) to fetch them.

Sir, at Plymouth, it pleased the Lord to force the prisoners to confess, that they all conspired and intended murder; and they were, three of them, (the fourth having escaped, by a pinnace, from Aquedneck,) executed in the presence of the natives who went with me. Our friends confessed, that they received much quickening from your own hand. O that they might also in a case more weighty, wherein they need much, viz.: the standing to their present government and liberties, to which I find them weakly resolved.

They have requested me to enquire out a murder five years since committed upon a Plymouth man (as they now hear) by two Narragansett Indians, between Plymouth and Sowwams. I hope (if true) the Lord will discover it.

Sir, I understand that there hath been some Englishmen of late come over, who hath told much to Cutshamoquene's Indians (I think Auhaudin) of a great Sachem in England (using the King's name) to whom all the Sachems in this land are and shall be nothing, and where his ships ere long shall land; and this is much news at present amongst natives. I hope to enquire out the men.

Mr. Vane hath also written to Mr. Coddington and others on the island of late, to remove from Boston as speedily as they might, because some evil was ripening, &c. The most holy and mighty One blast all mischievous buds and blossoms, and prepare us for tears in the valley of tears, help you and us to trample on the dunghill of this present world, and to set affections and cast anchor above these heavens and earth, which are reserved for burning.

Sir, I hear, that two malicious persons, one I was bold to trouble your worship with not long since,) Joshua Verin, and another yet with us, William Arnold, have most falsely and

slanderously (as I hope it shall appear) conspired together (even as Gardiner did against yourselves) many odious accusations in writing. It may be, they may some way come to your loving hand. I presume the end is, to render me odious both to the King's majesty, as also to yourselves. I shall request humbly your wonted love and gentleness (if it come to your worship's hand) to help me with the fight of it, and I am confident yourself shall be the judge of the notorious wickedness and malicious falsehoods therein, and that there hath not passed ought from me, either concerning the maintaining of our liberties in this land, or any difference with yourselves, which shall not manifest loyalty's reverence, modesty and tender affection.

The Lord Jesus the Son of righteousness, shine brightly and eternally on you and yours, and all that seek him that was crucified. In him, I desire ever to be

Yours worship's most unfeigned

ROGER WILLIAMS.

All respective salutations to kind Mrs. Winthrop, Mr. Deputy, Mr. Bellingham, and theirs.

The Narragansett Club, twenty years ago, collected and published in a single volume (*Publications of the Narragansett Club*, vi.), edited by John Russell Bartlett, all the letters of Roger Williams known to be in existence,—some which had never before been published, others which had been printed in early volumes of the Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections, in the "Winthrop Papers," and elsewhere. In all the collection embraces about one hundred and fifty letters. Nearly fifty of these are to Governor Winthrop, the first written while Williams was in Plymouth, in 1632, the last in 1641. Eight of these letters, the most important, are given in the present leaflet. The letters altogether are of great historical importance, not only as revelations of Williams's life and character, but as throwing much light upon his relations to Winthrop and the Massachusetts colony after his banishment. Strongly as Williams and Winthrop differed as to theories of Church and State, their personal esteem for each other remained unbroken. Williams, who was a warm friend of the Indians and was peculiarly trusted by them, did much to protect the Massachusetts colony against their plottings; and many of these letters relate to Indian matters. The second letter given in this leaflet is of unusual interest, as discussing the religious differences between the two men and the doctrines which had led to Williams's banishment from Massachusetts.



The Way of the Churches of New England.

THE PREFACE OF THOMAS HOOKER'S "SURVEY OF THE SUMME OF
CHURCH DISCIPLINE."

Truth is the Daughter of time, was the saying of old, and our daily experience gives in evidence and proof hereof, to every mans ordinary observation. Only as in other births, so here, the barrennesse and fruitfullnesse of severall ages, depend meerly upon Gods good pleasure; who opens and shuts the womb of truth from bearing, as he sees fit, according to the counsell of his own will.

Not that there is any change in the truth, but the alteration grows, according to mens apprehensions, to whom it is more or lesse discovered, according to Gods most just judgement, and their own deservings.

Sometimes God makes an eclipse of the truth at midday, that so he might expresse his wrath from Heaven, against the unthankfulnesse, prophanenesse, and Atheisme of a malignant world.

Hence it was he let loose those hellish delusions, immediately after the Ascention of our Saviour; That though his life and conversation gave in evidence beyond gainsaying, that he was true man: Though the miracles and wonders he wrought in his life and death, resurrection and ascention, were witnesses undeniable, that he was true God: yet there arose a wretched generation of Hereticks, in the first, second, and third hundred years, who adventured not only against the expresse verdict of the Scripture, but against sense and experience, fresh in the observation and tradition of living men, with more then Satanickall impudency to deny both the natures of our blessed Saviour.

Some denied the Diety of our Saviour, and would have him meer man. As Ebrion, Cerinthus, Montanus, &c. Others deny him to be true man, as the Gnostici, Valentiniani, Mar-ioniræ.

Sometimes when men entertain the truth in profession, but not in the love of it, and that indeared affection, that is due thereunto, the Lord gives men up to the Activity of error, as the Apostle speaks, because they did not love, that the truth should be truth, they imbraced falsehood instead of truth, that so they might be deluded and damned. This made way for Antichrist, and did Midwife that man of sin into the world, and by little and little advanced him into his throne. For while men did verbally acknowledge the nature and offices of our Saviour, they did begin, though subtilly, yet really, to usurp the honor and exercise of all to themselves.

First, They began to incroach upon the *Priestly Office* of our Saviour, and not only to pray for the dead, but to pray to them, and to attribute too much to the martyrs and their worth; and to derogate from the merits, and that plentiful and perfect redemption wrought alone by the Lord Iesus. The Spouse of Christ thus like the unwise virgins, was taken aside with the slumber of Idolatry, till at last she fell fast asleep as the following times give in abundant testimony.

Not long after, these sleeps were attended with suteable dreams, for not being content with the simplicity of the Gospel, and the purity of the worship appointed therein: They set forth a new and large edition of devised and instituted ceremonies, coined meerly out of the vanity of mens carnall mindes, which as so many blindes, were set up by the subtilty of Satan, meerly to delude men, and mislead them from the truth of Gods worship, under a pretence of directing them more easily in the way of grace: and under a colour of kindling, they quenched all true zeal for, and love of the truth.

Insomuch that Augustine complained, The present condition of the Churches in his time, was worse than that of the Jews. They were subject to the burthen of legall Ceremonies, laid upon them by the Lord; but we (saith the Father) are pressed with presumptions devised by men.

And thus at once they usurped upon the *Propheticall* and justled our Saviour also out of his *Regall office*, for so they are linked together by the Prophet. He is our King, he is our Law-giver; it is in his power and pleasure to provide his own laws, and appoint the waies of his own worship.

Thus were the *Offices* of our Saviour secretly and cunningly

undermined till at last that man of sin, seeing his time, and taking his advantage, adventured openly and impudently to challenge the chair of supremacy.

Boniface the third obtained by policy and treachery, at the hand of Phocas for himself and his successours, that the Bishop of Rome, should be the head and chief Bishop of all Christian Churches.

But the one sword was not sufficient for Hildebrand, He rested not, untill by his hellish contrivements he had got two swords, to fill both his hands withall, and a Triple-crown upon his head, and carried it with mighty violence against the imperiall Majesty: that whereas no Pope in former times might be chosen without the confirmation of the Emperour: so now no Emperour might be chosen without the confirmation of the Pope: as appears in the story of Henry the Emperour.

Thus while the Pope pretended to be the Vicar and Vicegerent of Christ, to supply his absence here on earth, by being caput ministeriale, : in issue he justled him out of the room and right of his *Headship*.

He makes Canons to binde conscience, and so assumes the place of the chief Prophet; Gives dispensations, sends out Indulgences, sells pardons, retains, and remits sins, improves the treasury of the Church to that end, and so challengeth the place of being chief Priest. Lastly, arrogates the plenitude and supremacy of power in causes Ecclesiastick and Civil, no lesse then two swords will satisfy, to fill both his hands, and a Triple-crown to load his head withall, and thereby arrogates to be head of the Church.

When God had revenged the contempt of the Authority of his son, by delivering up such contemners to the tyranny and slavery of Antichrist, by the space of many hundred years: That by their own experience they came to know the difference betwixt the service of God, and the slavery of men: the golden scepter of Christ, and the Iron rod of Antichrist; who tortured their consciences upon a continuall rack, held their souls smoaking over the mouth of the bottomelesse pit, put them into hell, and plucked them out at his pleasure, whence men desired to die, rather then to live.

They then began to sigh for some deliverance from this spirituall, more then Egyptian bondage; and being thus prepared to lend a listening ear unto the truth, God sent them some little reviving in their extremities, a day-star arising in this their darknesse.

He stirred up the spirit of the Waldenses, Armachanus,

Wickliff, Hus, and Jerom of Prage, who openly proclaimed the usurpations of that man of sin, stoutly asserted the fulnesse and sufficiency of the Scriptures, cleared and maintained the deciding authority thereof in all the waies and worship of God, and so set up the Lord Iesus, as the only *Prophet* of his Church.

After them succeeded Luther, who made a spoil of the Popes treasury, marred wholly his market, and the sale of his indulgencies, and so wonderfully cooled and quenched the fire of Purgatory, and the Popes kitchin: that his holinesse, and the wretched rabble of all his black-guard, were forced to improve all their power and policy to crush the credit of that champion, and the authority of that doctrine which he taught, but all in vain.

For the vertue of the bloody sacrifice of Christ once offered for all, the perfect satisfaction, iustification, and redemption, came so strongly to be received and maintained in many places and persons of note. That now all the unbloudy sacrifices, masses, and multitudes of that trash, which the merit-mongers did studiously set forth to sale, and by which they set up themselves in the hearts of the people, grew to be abhorred of such as were pious and conscientious, and all such who would but suffer themselves to be led by the principles of right reason. And thus the *Priestly* office of our Saviour came in some measure to be acknowledged, and appropriated to him, whose peculiar it was.

Only the *Supremacy of that Kingly Power*, upon which the Pope had encroached, and maintained the possession thereof so long, was yet retained and fortified (as reason would) with greatest resolution, nor could he suffer the appearance of any approach or battery to be erected, that might seem to hazard the safty of that, but he sets him fully and fiercely against Reformation, which sticks like the cunny-skin at the head principally.

Hence for the surprisall of so strong a peice, the Lord in his providence provided many means to make approaches thereunto by little and little. The Councells of Constance and Basill justled the Pope to the Wall, and took the wall of him, made him lower then the councill, but let him enjoy his Headship over all his Officers and particular Churches,

King Henry the eighth, he further clipped his wings in temporalls, shook off and renounced that supremacy that he had arrogated and erected over kings and kingdomes in former ages: Only that is storied of him as his mistake, he cut off the

head of Popery, but left the body of it (in Arch-Bishops, Primates, Metropolitans, Archdeacons,) yet within his realm, and the Churches there established.

This power having a double respect: Partly to Ministers, Partly to Churches: The first of these was abated, when a Parity in the Ministry came to be acknowledged and received in the Churches of the reformation. And that the sole and princely power, which was arrogated and exercised by the Bishops and their Officers, over the faithfull Pastors of Christ, was cashiered, as contrary to the government and power bequeathed to each particular Officer of his own appointment, who all have Ministerium, non Dominium, are stewards, not Lords of Gods inheritance.

But whether all Ecclesiasticall power be impaled, impropriated and rightly taken in to the Presbytery alone: Or that the people of the particular Churches should come in for a share, according to their places and proportions; This is left as the subject of the inquiry of this age, and that which occasions great thoughts of heart of all hands: Great thoughts of heart in the Presbytery, as being very loth to part with that so chief privilege, and of which they have taken possession so many years. Great thoughts of heart amongst the Churches, how they may clear their right, and claim it in such pious sobriety and moderation, as becomes the Saints: being unwilling to loose their cause and comfort, meerly upon a nihil dicit, or for ever to be deprived of so precious a legacy, as they conceive this is, though it hath been withheld from them, by the tyranny of the Pope, and prescription of times. Nor can they conceive it lesse, then a heedlesse betraying of their speciall liberties, and not selling but casting away their inheritance, and right, by a carelesse silence, when the course of providence, as the juncture of things now present themselves, allows them a writt *Ad melius inquirendum*.

And it seemes God sets out this disquisition (fall the issue on which side it will) as most sutable and seasonable to these times, which appear fruitfull in discoveries: Truth seeming to be in travell, having fulfilled her appointed moneths, and the instant opportunity of her deliverance drawing on apace, as the Scripture account, may seem to give symptomes to that purpose, and such as will not fail.

For these are the times drawing on, wherein Prophecies are to attain their performances: and its a received rule, and I suppose most safe, when Prophecies are fulfilled they are best interpreted, the accomplishment of them is the best Commentary.

These are the times, when the knowledge of the Lord shall cover the earth as the waters the Sea: and these waters of the Sanctuary shall encrease from the ankles, unto the knees, thence unto the loins, and thence become a river that cannot be passed.

These are the times when people shall be fitted for such priviledges, fit I say to obtain them, and fit to use them.

Fit to obtain them at Gods hands, for Dan. 12. 4. people shall run too and fro, and knowledge shall increase: they shall by the strength of their desires, improve the most painfull exercise of their thoughts, in the most serious search of the mystery of godlinesse, and bloud-hound like, who are bent upon their prey, they shall most indefatigably trace the truth, and follow the least appearance of the foot-steps thereof presented, until they come to see the formings and framings in the first rise, Scire est per causas scire, and thus digging for wisdom as for hid treasures, and seeking the Lord and his will, with their whole heart, they shall finde him, and understand it.

Fit to use them, now the Lord will write his laws in their hearts, and put it into their inward parts, and they shall teach no more every man his neighbour, For they shall all know me, from the least of them, to the greatest of them.

And whereas it hath been charged upon the people, that through their ignorance and unskillfulnesse, they are not able to wield such priviledges, and therefore not fit to share in any such power. The Lord hath promised: To take away the vail from all faces in the mountain, the weak shall be as David, and David as an Angel of God. The light of the Moon shall be as the Sun, and the Sun seven times brighter. When he hath not only informed them, but made them to be ashamed of their abominations, and of all that they have done, then he will shew them the frame of his house, and the patern thereof, the going out thereof, the coming in thereof, the whole fashion thereof, and all the ordinances thereof, all the figures thereof, and laws thereof: And write them in their sight, that they may keep the whole fashion thereof, and all the Ordinances thereof, and do them. Observe how often the Lord expresth the enlarged manifestations of himself in those many universals.

All Lawes, All Ordinances, All Figures. 2. Not only *shew* all, but make them *see all*, and doe all.

The travell of the truth, as I said, thus drawing on, it hath pleased the Lord to improve the pens and pains of many of his Worthies (midwife like) to lighten and ease the throws of the truth, in this sharp and sore travell for a safe delivery.

Amongst these M. Rutterford hath deserved much for his undefatigable diligence ; A man of eminent abilities, the depth of whose judgement, and sharpnesse in dispute, is evidenced beyond all exception, by that accurate and elaborate peece of his Apologeticall exercitations, wherein he appears to be Malleus Jesuitarum, and of their factours and followers the Arminians, who receive their errours by whole-sale from them, and retail them out again in their particular treatises. And for these pains of his, I suppose the Churches will (I must professe for mine own particular I do) owe him much. And therefore it was a pleasing and pleasant providence, when I perceived by some bookes, set forth of late, that he did ad-dresse himself seriously to debate of Church-Discipline, a subject, as of speciall difficulty, so of speciall advantage to the truth, and of help to the present times in which we live.

These two things seeming to be great reserves of inquiry, for this last age of the world,

1. Wherein the spirituall rule of Christs Kingdome consists, the manner how it is revealed and dispensed to the souls of his servants inwardly?

2. The order and manner, how the government of his kingdome is managed outwardly in his Churches?

Vpon these two hinges the tedious agitations that are stirring in the earth turn : either having their first rise from hence directly, or by a secret influence, these fore-mentioned causes send in and insinuate their speciall interests indirectly, to make up that *μεγας σεισμος*, to set forwards the shakings of heaven and earth, which are to be seen even at this day.

This being the season, when all the kingdomes of the world, are becoming the Lords and his Christs : and to this purpose he is taking to himself his great might, which heretofore he seemed to lay aside and in silence, as himself speaks in a like case. Psa, 50. to suffer wicked men to put forth their rage, according to their own pleasure, but he resolves by his Iron rod to dash those earthen vessels to peeces.

The first of these, to wit ; The spirituall Kingdome of Christ, is most opposed by a generation of Enthusiasts ; and Familists, who having refined the loathsome follies of their former predecessours, do adventure to set open their conceits, with greater insolency, to the view of the world, and under the pretence of free-grace, they destroy the grace of God in the power and operations of it, in the hearts and lives of men.

The other, which concerns the managing of the outward kingdome, unlesse my prospective much deceives me, is com-

ing towards its last triall: because there is more liberty now given to each, to plead their own interests, when in former times the tyranny of Antichrist, and blinde obedience unto his dictates, turned the tomb stone of untimely silence upon all mens endeavours, buried all mens debates in their own bosomes, or else the unreasonable rigour of the prelates laboured to destroy the being of the defense as soon as it came to the birth.

This present term of Gods patience promiseth some allowance to his people, the distressed and despised ones of Christ, sub formâ pauperis, to take leave, to lay claim to the privileges, which they have conceived to be part of the legacy bequeathed unto them by the Lord Iesus, being estated and entitled members of the visible Kingdome of his Church.

To set out the bounds of these interests, worthy M. R. hath bestowed great labour, which I have again and again attended, and as I do freely acknowledge to have received light therefrom: so I do professe I do readily consent with him in many things.

In the number and nature of Officers, as Pastours, Teachers, Elders, &c. appointed by Christ and his Church.

That the people hath right to call their own officers, and that none must be imposed upon them by Patrons and Prelates.

That Scandalous persons are not fit to be members of a visible Church, nor should be admitted.

That the faithfull Congregations in England are true Churches: and therefore it is sinfull to separate from them as no Churches.

That the members which come commended from such Churches to ours here, so that it doth appear to the judgement of the Church, whence they come, that they are by them approved, and not scandalous, they ought to be received to Church communion with us, as members of other Churches with us in N.E. in like case so commended and approved.

To separate from Congregations for want of some Ordinances: Or,

To separate from the true worship of God, because of the sin of some worshippers, is unlawfull.

The Consociation of Churches is not only lawfull, but in some cases necessary.

That when causes are difficult, and particular Churches want light and help, they should crave the Assistance of such a consociation.

That Churches so meeting have right to counsell, rebuke, &c. as the case doth require.

In case any particular Church shall walk pertinaciously, either in the profession of error, or sinfull practice, and will not hear their counsell, they may and should renounce the right hand of fellowship with them.

That Infants of visible Churches, born of wicked parents, being members of the Church, ought to be baptized.

In these and severall other particulars, we fully accord with M. R. and therefore no man in reason can conceive, that I write in opposition to his book: for then I should oppose my self, and mine own judgement: but for further disquisition and search into some particulars, which pace tanti viri, craves further and fuller discovery.

And hence, *this needs no toleration of religions*, or estrangement of affection, in tolerating the differences of such apprehensions, and that in some things, untill further light bring in further conviction and concurrence.

It is confessed by all the Casuists, I know, and that upon a rigid dispute, that longer time is to be allowed to two sorts of people, from whom consent is expected, then from others.

1. To some, who out of the strength of their judgement are able to oppose arguments, in case they come not so well guarded and pointed as they should.

2. To others, the like Indulgency is to be lent, who out of their weaknesse cannot so easily and readily perceive the valour and validity of an argument, to carry the cause, and win their assent thereunto.

Of this latter I profess my self, and therefore plead for allowance, and present Forbearance, especially considering, that modestly to inquire into, and for a time to dissent from the judgement of a generall counsell, hath been accounted tolerable.

He that will estrange his affection, because of the difference of apprehension in things difficult, he must be a stranger to himself one time or other. If men would be tender and carefull to keep off offensive expressions, they might keep some distance in opinion, in some things, without hazard to truth or love. But when men set up their sheaves (though it be but in a dream, as Josephs was) and fall out with every one, that will not fall down and adore them, they will bring much trouble into the world, but little advantage to the truth, or peace.

Again, The Reader must know for his direction in this inquiry, my aim only was, and is, to lay down, and that briefly, the grounds of our practice, according to that measure

of light I have received, and to give answer to such reasons, which might seem to weaken the evidence thereof: declining purposely, for the present, the examination of such answers, which are made to the arguments alledged by some of our Reverend Brethren, touching the same subject: because I would neither prejudice nor prevent their proper defense, which I do suppose in the fittest season, they will so present unto the world, as shall be fully satisfactory to such, as love and desire the knowledge of the truth.

The Summe is, we doubt not what we practise, but its beyond all doubt, that all men are liars, and we are in the number of those poor feeble men, either we do, or may erre, though we do not know it, what we have learned, we do professe, and yet professe still to live, that we may learn.

And therefore the errand upon which this present discourse is sent, is summarily to shew these two things unto the world,

1. That there must be more said (then yet it hath been my happinesse to see) before the principles we professe will be shaken, and consequently it cannot be expected, that we should be unsettled in our practice.

2. That I might occasion men eminently gifted to make further search, and to dig deeper, that if there be any vein of reason, which lies yet lower, it might be brought to light, and we professe and promise, not only a ready eare to hear it, but a heart willing to welcome it.

Its the perfection of a man, amidst these many weaknesses, we are surrounded withall, by many changes to come to perfection. Its the honour and conquest of a man truly wise to be conquered by the truth: and he hath attained the greatest liberty, that suffers himself to be led captive thereby.

That the discourse comes forth in such a homely dresse and course habit, the Reader must be desired to consider, It comes out of the wilderness, where curiosity is not studied. Planters if they can provide cloth to go warm, they leave the cutts and lace to those that study to go fine.

As it is beyond my skill, so I professe it is beyond my care to please the nicenesse of mens palates, with any quaintnesse of language. They who covet more sauce then meat, they must provide cooks to their minde. It was a cavill cast upon Hierom, that in his writings he was Ciceronianus non Christianus: My rudenesse frees me wholly from this exception, for being Λόγῳ Ἰδιώτης, as the Apostle hath it, if I would, I could not lavish out in the loosenesse of language, and as the case stands, if I could answer any mans desire in that dainti-

nesse of speech, I would not do the matter that Injury which is now under my hand: *Ornari res ipsa negat*. The substance and solidity of the frame is that, which pleaseth the builder, its the painters work to provide varnish.

If the manner of the discourse should occasion any disrellish in the apprehension of the weaker Reader, because it may seem too Logically, or Scholastically, in regard of the terms I use, or the way of dispute that I proceed in, in some places: I have these two things to professe,

1. That plainesse and perspicuity, both for matter and manner of expression, are the things, that I have conscientiously indeavoured in the whole debate: for I have ever thought writings that come abroad, they are not to dazle, but direct the apprehension of the meanest, and I have accounted it the chiefest part of Iudicious learning, to make a hard point easy and familiar in explication. *Qui non vult intelligi, debet negligi*.

2. The nature of the subject that is under my hand, is such, that I was constrained to accommodate and conform my expressions more or lesse, in some kinde of sutablenesse thereunto: for in some passages of the dispute, the particulars in their very rise and foundation, border so neer upon the principles of Logick: (as whether *Ecclesia Catholica visibilis*, was to be attended, as a *Totum universale*, or *Integrale*) that either I must resolve to say nothing, or to speak (though as sparingly as I could of such things) as the quality of the things did require. And let any man make a triall, and I do much mistake my self, but he will be neccessitated to take the same course, if he speaks to the cause. If the Reader shall demand how far this way of Church-proceeding receives approbation by any common concurrence amongst us: I shall plainly and punctually expresse my self in a word of truth, in these following points, viz.

Visible Saints are the only true and meet matter, whereof a visible Church should be gathered, and confœderation is the form.

The Church as *Totum essentiale*, is, and may be, before Officers.

There is no Presbyteriall Church (*i.e.* A Church made up of the Elders of many Congregations appointed Classickwise, to rule all those Congregations) in the N.T.

A Church Congregationall is the first subject of the keys.

Each Congregation compleatly constituted of all Officers, hath sufficient power in her self, to exercise the power of the keyes, and all Church discipline, in all the censures thereof.

Ordination is not before election.

There ought to be no ordination of a Minister at large, Namely, such as should make him Pastour without a People.

The election of the people hath an instrumentall causall vertue under Christ, to give an outward call unto an Officer.

Ordination is only a solemn installing of an Officer into the Office, unto which he was formerly called.

Children of such, who are members of Congregations, ought only to be baptized.

The consent of the people gives a causall vertue to the compleating of the sentence of excommunication.

Whilst the Church remains a true Church of Christ, it doth not loose this power, nor can it lawfully be taken away.

Consociation of Churches should be used, as occasion doth require.

Such consociations and Synods have allowance to counsell and admonish other Churches, as the case may require.

And if they grow obstinate in errour or sinfull miscarriages, they should renounce the right hand of fellowship with them.

But they have no power to excommunicate.

Nor do their constitutions binde formalitèr & juridicè.

In all these I have leave to professe the joint judgement of all the Elders upon the river: of New-haven, Guilford, Milford, Stratford, Fairfield: and of most of the Elders of the Churches in the Bay, to whom I did send in particular, and did receive approbation from them, under their hands: Of the rest (to whom I could not send) I cannot so affirm; but this I can say, That at a common meeting, I was desired by them all, to publish what now I do.

Lastly, To ease the ordinary Reader, who happily is not acquainted with discourses of this kinde, I shall take leave to lend him this little advise.

The Treatise being divided into four parts, if he will be intreated to survey the Table set before the work, by a short and sudden cast of his eye, he shall presently perceive those particulars, which as so many pillars principall, bear up the whole frame.

1. Look at the Church in its first rise and essence, The causes of it, in the efficient, Matter and Form: The Qualification of it, in its precedency, power, priviledges, make up the first part.
2. Look at the Church, as compleated with all her Officers, the number and nature of them, in her elections, and Ordinations, where the loathsome title of Independency is opened: these lay out the matter of the second part.

3. The Church thus constituted, The power that she exerciseth in admissions, dispensations of Sacraments, and censures, especially that grand and great censure of excommunication, how it is to be managed, and the power of it lastly resolved. In these the third part is spent.
4. The consociation of Churches in Classes, Synods, and councils, is shortly discussed in the fourth part.

Let him be intreated to carry these along in his consideration, he will readily know, whether to refer any thing, and where to finde any thing; and as readily conceive the method and manner, both of the constitution of the Church, as the House of God, and the right managing of all the occasions and affairs thereof.

In the handling of all these particulars, so full of difficulty and of obscurity, I am not such a stranger at home, but that I am easily sensible of the weight of the matter and mine own weaknesse: and therefore I can professe in a word of truth, that against mine own inclination and affection, I was haled by importunity to this so hard a task, to kindle my rush candle, to joyn with the light of others, at least to occasion them to set up their lamps.

Now he that is the way, the truth, and the life, pave out all the waies of his people, and make their paths plain before them: Lead us all into that truth, which will lead us unto eternall life: bring us once unto that impotency and impossibility, that we can do nothing against the truth, but for it, that so our Congregations, may not only be stiled, as Ezeekiels temple, but be really what was prophesied the Churches should be, in these last daies, Jehovah Shammah. In the Armes of his everlasting mercy I leave thee, but never cease to wish,

Spirituell welfare

in him,

THOMAS HOOKER.

*In obitum viri Doctissimi THOMÆ HOOKERI
Pastoris Ecclesiæ Hertfordiensis,
Novangliæ, Collegæ sui.*

A Starre of heavén whose beams were very bright,
Who was a burning, and a shining light,
Did shine in our Horizon fourteen years,
Or thereabout, but now he disappeares :
July the seventh six hundred fourtie seaven,
His blessed soul ascended up to heaven.
He was a man exceeding rich in truth ;
He stored up rich treasures from his youth.
While he was in the University,
His light did shine, his parts were very high.
When he was fellow of Emmanuell,
Much learning in his solid head did dwell.
His knowledge in Theologie Divine,
In Chelmesford Lectures divers years did shine.
Dark Scriptures he most clearly did expound,
And that great mystery of Christ profound.
He had a singular clear insight, in
The souls conversion unto God from sin :
And in what method men come to inherit,
Both Christ and all his fullnesse by the Spirit.
He made the truth appear by light of reason,
And spake most comfortable words in season.
To poor distressed sinners and contrite,
And such as to the Promises had right.
Which did revive their hearts and make them wonder :
And in reproof he was a sonne of Thunder.
He spake the Word with such authority,
That many from themselves to Christ did fly.
His preaching was full of the holy Ghost,
Whose presence in him we admired most.
He did excell in Mercy, Peace and Love,
Was Lion-like in courage, yet a Dove.
He from the largenesse of his royall heart,
His treasures was most ready to impart.
To many Ministers he was a father ;
Who from his light, much pleasant light did gather.
The principles he held were clear and strong :
He was to truth a mighty pillar long.
I can affirm I know no man more free
From Errors in his judgement, then was he.

His holy heart delighted much to act
 The will of God, wherein he was exact.
 No other way could with his spirit suit ;
 His conversation was full of fruit.
 He was abundant in the work of God
 Untill death came, and heaven was his abod.
 At his last clause Christ found him doing well,
 His blamelesse life, but few can parallel.
 The peace he had full thirty yeares agoe
 At death was firm, not touched by the foe.
 Of all his daies and times, the last were best :
 The end of such is peace, he is at rest.
 His lipps, they were a spring and tree of life,
 Unto his people, family and wife,
 In which much wisdom, health and grace was found,
 Are sealed up, and buried under ground.

If any to this Platform can reply
 With better reason, let this volume die :
 But better argument if none can give,
 Then Thomas Hookers Policy shall live.

SAM. STONE, Teaching Elder
 of the same Church at Hartford with him.

*On my Reverend and dear Brother, M^r THOMAS
 HOOKER, late Pastor of the Church at
 Hartford on Connectiquot.*

To see three things was holy Austins wish,
 Rome in her Flower, Christ Jesus in the Flesh,
 And Paul i'th Pulpit ; Lately men might see,
 Two first, and more, in Hookers Ministry.

Zion in Beauty, is a fairer sight,
 Then Rome in Flower, with all her Glory dight :
 Yet Zions Beauty did most clearly shine,
 In Hookers Rule, and Doctrine ; both Divine.

Christ in the Spirit, is more then Christ in Flesh,
 Our Souls to quicken, and our States to blesse :
 Yet Christ in Spirit brake forth mightily,
 In Faithfull Hookers searching Ministry.

Paul in the Pulpit, Hooker could not reach,
 Yet did He Christ in Spirit so lively Preach :

That living Hearers thought He did inherit
A double Portion of Pauls lively spirit.

Prudent in Rule, in Argument quick, full :
Fervent in Prayer, in Preaching powerfull :
That well did learned Ames record bear,
The like to Him He never wont to hear.

'Twas of Genevahs Worthies said, with wonder,
(Those Worthies Three :) Farell was wont to Thunder ;
Viret, like Rain, on tender grasse to shower,
But Calvin, lively Oracles to pour.

All these in Hookers spirit did remain :
A Sonne of Thunder, and a shower of Rain,
A pourer forth of lively Oracles,
In saving souls, the summe of miracles.

Now blessed Hooker, thou art set on high,
Above the thanklesse world, and cloudy sky :
Doe thou of all thy labour reape the Crown,
Whilst we here reape the seed, which thou hast sowed.

J. COTTON.

Thomas Hooker, the founder of Connecticut, and one of the most powerful theologians of New England, was born in Markfield, Leicestershire, England, in 1586, and died at Hartford, Conn., in 1647. He was a fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and afterwards assistant to a clergyman in Chelmsford. Silenced by Archbishop Laud for non-conformity, he taught a school in Little Braddon, having John Eliot, afterwards the apostle to the Indians, for his assistant; but, still persecuted, he fled to Holland. He came to New England in 1633, in the same ship with John Cotton and Samuel Stone, afterwards his colleague at Hartford. He was chosen pastor of the church at Newtown (Cambridge); and his influence in the colony at once became great, always upon the liberal side. Friction between the Boston and Newtown congregations on matters of church and state doubtless had much to do with the removal of Hooker and his people in 1636 to the banks of the Connecticut, the new colony embracing the towns of Hartford, Windsor, and Weathersfield. The first constitution of Connecticut, "the first written constitution, in the modern sense of the term, as a permanent limitation on governmental power, known in history, and certainly the first American constitution of government to embody the democratic idea," was adopted by an assembly of the planters of the three towns, held at Hartford, Jan. 14, 1638 (9). "It is on the banks of the Connecticut," says Johnston, "under the mighty preaching of Thomas Hooker, and in the constitution to which he gave life, if not form, that we draw the first breath of that atmosphere which is now so familiar to us. The birthplace of American democracy is Hartford."

Hooker was as influential in church as in state; and his *Survey of the Summe of Church Discipline*, the preface of which is here printed, formed, with John Cotton's work on Congregationalism, the authoritative exposition of "The Way of the Churches of New England." It was not quite ready for publication at the time of Hooker's death. It was published in London in 1648, with an epistle to the reader subscribed by Edward Hopkins and William Godwin, and with the poetical tributes by Stone and Cotton here given. Besides the *Survey*, Hooker published many volumes of sermons and polemical works, a complete bibliography of which, by J. Hammond Trumbull, may be found in the appendix to Walker's Life of Hooker. This is the best life. Mather wrote of Hooker in the *Magnalia*; and there is a biography by E. W. Hooker in the series of "Lives of the Chief Fathers of New England." See the valuable chapters on the founding of the Hartford colony and its early political organization, by Rev. Increase N. Tarbox, in the "Memorial History of Hartford County"; see Johnston's History of Connecticut, in the "American Commonwealths" series; and see the chapter on the Fundamental Orders of Connecticut, in Borgeaud's "Rise of Modern Democracy in Old and New England." *The Fundamental Orders of Connecticut* has been printed among the Old South Leaflets, general series, No. 8.



Old South Leaflets.

No. 56.

The Monroe Doctrine.

U.S. President, 1817-1825
(Monroe)

PRESIDENT MONROE'S MESSAGE AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE FIRST
SESSION OF THE EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS, DECEMBER 2, 1823.

Fellow-citizens of the Senate and House of Representatives :

Many important subjects will claim your attention during the present session, of which I shall endeavor to give, in aid of your deliberations, a just idea in this communication. I undertake this duty with diffidence, from the vast extent of the interests on which I have to treat, and of their great importance to every portion of our Union. I enter on it with zeal, from thorough conviction that there never was a period since the establishment of our Revolution when, regarding the condition of the civilized world and its bearing on us, there was greater necessity for devotion in the public servants to their respective duties, or for virtue, patriotism, and union in our constituents.

Meeting in you a new Congress, I deem it proper to present this view of public affairs in greater detail than might otherwise be necessary. I do it, however, with peculiar satisfaction, from a knowledge that in this respect I shall comply more fully with the sound principles of our Government. The people being with us exclusively the sovereign, it is indispensable that full information be laid before them on all important subjects to enable them to exercise that high power with complete effect. If kept in the dark, they must be incompetent to it. We are all liable to error, and those who are engaged in the management of public affairs are more subject to excitement, and to be led astray by their particular interests and passions than the great body of our constituents, who, being at home in the pursuit of their ordinary avocations, are calm but deeply interested spectators of events, and of the conduct of those who are parties to them. To the people, every department of the Government

and every individual in each are responsible, and the more full their information the better they can judge of the wisdom of the policy pursued, and of the conduct of each in regard to it. From their dispassionate judgment much aid may always be obtained, while their approbation will form the greatest incentive and most gratifying reward for virtuous actions, and the dread of their censure the best security against the abuse of their confidence. Their interests in all vital questions are the same, and the bond by sentiment as well as by interest will be proportionably strengthened as they are better informed of the real state of public affairs, especially in difficult conjunctures. It is by such knowledge that local prejudices and jealousies are surmounted, and that a national policy, extending its fostering care and protection to all the great interests of our Union, is formed and steadily adhered to.

A precise knowledge of our relations with foreign powers, as respects our negotiations and transactions with each, is thought to be particularly necessary. Equally necessary is it that we should form a just estimate of our resources, revenue, and progress in every kind of improvement connected with the national prosperity and public defence. It is by rendering justice to other nations that we may expect it from them. It is by our ability to resent injuries and redress wrongs that we may avoid them.

The Commissioners under the fifth article of the treaty of Ghent, having disagreed in their opinions respecting that portion of the boundary between the Territories of the United States and of Great Britain, the establishment of which had been submitted to them, have made their respective reports in compliance with that article, that the same might be referred to the decision of a friendly power. It being manifest, however, that it would be difficult, if not impossible, for any power to perform that office without great delay and much inconvenience to itself, a proposal has been made by this Government, and acceded to by that of Great Britain, to endeavor to establish that boundary by amicable negotiation. It appearing, from long experience, that no satisfactory arrangement could be formed of the commercial intercourse between the United States and the British colonies in this hemisphere by legislative acts, while each party pursued its own course without agreement or concert with the other, a proposal has been made to the British Government to regulate this commerce by treaty, as it has been to arrange in like manner the just claim of the citizens of the United States inhabiting the States and Terri-

tories bordering on the lakes and rivers which empty into the St. Lawrence to the navigation of that river to the ocean. For these and other objects of high importance to the interests of both parties, a negotiation has been opened with the British Government which, it is hoped, will have a satisfactory result.

The Commissioners under the sixth and seventh articles of the treaty of Ghent, having successfully closed their labors in relation to the sixth, have proceeded to the discharge of those relating to the seventh. Their progress in the extensive survey, required for the performance of their duties, justifies the presumption that it will be completed in the ensuing year.

The negotiation which had been long depending with the French Government on several important subjects, and particularly for a just indemnity for losses sustained in the late wars by the citizens of the United States, under unjustifiable seizures and confiscations of their property, has not as yet had the desired effect. As this claim rests on the same principle with others which have been admitted by the French Government, it is not perceived on what just grounds it can be rejected. A minister will be immediately appointed to proceed to France and resume the negotiation on this and other subjects which may arise between the two nations.

At the proposal of the Russian Imperial Government, made through the minister of the Emperor residing here, a full power and instructions have been transmitted to the minister of the United States at St. Petersburg, to arrange, by amicable negotiation, the respective rights and interests of the two nations on the northwest coast of this continent. A similar proposal has been made by his Imperial Majesty to the Government of Great Britain, which has likewise been acceded to. The Government of the United States has been desirous, by this friendly proceeding, of manifesting the great value which they have invariably attached to the friendship of the Emperor, and their solicitude to cultivate the best understanding with his Government. In the discussions to which this interest has given rise, and in the arrangements by which they may terminate, the occasion has been judged proper for asserting as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers.

Since the close of the last session of Congress, the Commissioners and arbitrators for ascertaining and determining the amount of indemnification which may be due to citizens of the United States under the decision of his Imperial Majesty

the Emperor of Russia, in conformity to the convention concluded at St. Petersburg, on the twelfth of July, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-two, have assembled in this city and organized themselves as a Board for the performance of the duties assigned to them by that treaty. The commission constituted under the eleventh article of the treaty of twenty-second February, one thousand eight hundred and nineteen, between the United States and Spain, is also in session here; and as the term of three years limited by the treaty for the execution of the trust will expire before the period of the next regular meeting of Congress, the attention of the Legislature will be drawn to the measures which may be necessary to accomplish the objects for which the commission was instituted.

In compliance with a resolution of the House of Representatives, adopted at their last session, instructions have been given to all the ministers of the United States accredited to the powers of Europe and America to propose the proscription of the African slave trade by classing it under the denomination, and inflicting on its perpetrators the punishment, of piracy. Should this proposal be acceded to, it is not doubted that this odious and criminal practice will be promptly and entirely suppressed. It is earnestly hoped that it will be acceded to from a firm belief that it is the most effectual expedient that can be adopted for the purpose.

At the commencement of the recent war between France and Spain it was declared by the French Government that it would grant no commissions to privateers, and that neither the commerce of Spain herself nor of neutral nations should be molested by the naval force of France, except in the breach of a lawful blockade. This declaration, which appears to have been faithfully carried into effect, concurring with principles proclaimed and cherished by the United States from the first establishment of their independence, suggested the hope that the time had arrived when the proposal for adopting it as a permanent and invariable rule in all future maritime wars might meet the favorable consideration of the great European powers. Instructions have accordingly been given to our ministers with France, Russia, and Great Britain, to make those proposals to their respective Governments; and when the friends of humanity reflect on the essential amelioration to the condition of the human race which would result from the abolition of private war on the sea, and on the great facility by which it might be accomplished, requiring only the consent of a few sovereigns, an earnest hope is indulged that these overtures will meet with

an attention animated by the spirit in which they were made, and that they will ultimately be successful.

The ministers who were appointed to the Republics of Colombia and Buenos Ayres during the last session of Congress proceeded, shortly afterward, to their destinations. Of their arrival there official intelligence has not yet been received. The minister appointed to the republic of Chili will sail in a few days. An early appointment will also be made to Mexico. A minister has been received from Colombia; and the other Governments have been informed that ministers, or diplomatic agents of inferior grade, would be received from each accordingly, as they might prefer the one or the other.

The minister appointed to Spain proceeded, soon after his appointment, for Cadiz, the residence of the sovereign to whom he was accredited. In approaching that port, the frigate which conveyed him was warned off by the commander of the French squadron by which it was blockaded, and not permitted to enter, although apprised by the captain of the frigate of the public character of the person whom he had on board, the landing of whom was the sole object of his proposed entry. This act, being considered an infringement of the rights of ambassadors and of nations, will form a just cause of complaint to the Government of France against the officer by whom it was committed.

The actual condition of the public finances more than realizes the favorable anticipations that were entertained of it at the opening of the last session of Congress. On the first of January there was a balance in the Treasury of four millions two hundred and thirty-seven thousand four hundred and twenty-seven dollars and fifty-five cents. From that time to the thirtieth of September the receipts amounted to upwards of sixteen millions one hundred thousand dollars, and the expenditures to eleven millions four hundred thousand dollars. During the fourth quarter of the year it is estimated that the receipts will at least equal the expenditures, and that there will remain in the Treasury on the first day of January next a surplus of nearly nine millions of dollars.

On the first of January, eighteen hundred and twenty-five, a large amount of the war debt and a part of the revolutionary debt will become redeemable. Additional portions of the former will continue to become redeemable annually until the year eighteen hundred and thirty-five. It is believed, however, that, if the United States remain at peace, the whole of that debt may be redeemed by the ordinary revenue of those years, during that

period, under the provision of the act of March third, eighteen hundred and seventeen, creating the sinking fund; and in that case the only part of the debt that will remain after the year eighteen hundred and thirty-five will be the seven millions of five per cent. stock subscribed to the Bank of the United States, and the three per cent. revolutionary debt, amounting to thirteen millions two hundred and ninety-six thousand and ninety-nine dollars and six cents, both of which are redeemable at the pleasure of the Government.

The state of the army and its organization and discipline has been gradually improving for several years, and has now attained a high degree of perfection. The military disbursements have been regularly made, and the accounts regularly and promptly rendered for settlement. The supplies of various descriptions have been of good quality, and regularly issued at all of the posts. A system of economy and accountability has been introduced into every branch of the service which admits of little additional improvement. This desirable state has been attained by the act reorganizing the staff of the Army, passed on the fourteenth of April, eighteen hundred and eighteen.

The moneys appropriated for fortifications have been regularly and economically applied, and all the works advanced as rapidly as the amount appropriated would admit. Three important works will be completed in the course of this year: that is, Fort Washington, Fort Delaware, and the fort at the Rigolets in Louisiana.

The Board of Engineers and the Topographical Corps have been in constant and active service, in surveying the coast, and projecting the works necessary for its defence.

The Military Academy has attained a degree of perfection in its discipline and instruction equal, as is believed, to any institution of its kind in any country.

The money appropriated for the use of the Ordnance Department has been regularly and economically applied. The fabrication of arms at the national armories, and by contract with the Department, has been gradually improving in quality and cheapness. It is believed that their quality is now such as to admit of but little improvement.

The completion of the fortifications renders it necessary that there should be a suitable appropriation for the purpose of fabricating the cannon and carriages necessary for those works.

Under the appropriation of five thousand dollars for exploring the western waters for the location of a site for a western armory, a commission was constituted, consisting of Colonel

McRée, Colonel Lee, and Captain Talcott, who have been engaged in exploring the country. They have not yet reported the result of their labors, but it is believed that they will be prepared to do it at an early part of the session of Congress.

During the month of June last, General Ashley and his party, who were trading under a license from the Government, were attacked by the Ricarees while peaceably trading with the Indians at their request. Several of the party were killed or wounded, and their property taken or destroyed.

Colonel Leavenworth, who commanded Fort Atkinson, at the Council Bluffs, the most western post, apprehending that the hostile spirit of the Ricarees would extend to other tribes in that quarter, and that thereby the lives of the traders on the Missouri and the peace of the frontier would be endangered, took immediate measures to check the evil.

With a detachment of the regiment stationed at the Bluffs, he successfully attacked the Ricaree village, and it is hoped that such an impression has been made on them, as well as on the other tribes on the Missouri, as will prevent a recurrence of future hostility.

The report of the Secretary of War, which is herewith transmitted, will exhibit in greater detail the condition of the Department in its various branches, and the progress which has been made in its administration during the first three quarters of the year.

I transmit a return of the militia of the several States, according to the last reports which have been made by the proper officers in each to the Department of War. By reference to this return, it will be seen that it is not complete, although great exertions have been made to make it so. As the defence, and even the liberties of the country must depend, in times of imminent danger, on the militia, it is of the highest importance that it be well organized, armed, and disciplined, throughout the Union. The report of the Secretary of War shows the progress made during the first three quarters of the present year, by the application of the fund appropriated for arming the militia. Much difficulty is found in distributing the arms according to the act of Congress providing for it, from the failure of the proper Departments in many of the States to make regular returns. The act of May the twelfth, one thousand eight hundred and twenty, provides that the system of tactics and regulations of the various corps in the regular army shall be extended to the militia. This act has been very imperfectly executed, from the want of uniformity in the organization of the militia, pro-

ceeding from the defects of the system itself, and especially in its application to that main arm of the public defence. It is thought that this important subject, in all its branches, merits the attention of Congress.

The report of the Secretary of the Navy, which is now communicated, furnishes an account of the administration of that Department for the first three-quarters of the present year, with the progress made in augmenting the Navy, and the manner in which the vessels in commission have been employed.

The usual force has been maintained in the Mediterranean Sea, the Pacific Ocean, and along the Atlantic coast, and has afforded the necessary protection to our commerce in those seas.

In the West Indies and the Gulf of Mexico our naval force has been augmented by the addition of several small vessels, provided for by the "act authorizing an additional naval force for the suppression of piracy," passed by Congress at their last session. That armament has been eminently successful in the accomplishment of its object. The piracies by which our commerce in the neighborhood of the island of Cuba had been afflicted have been repressed, and the confidence of our merchants, in a great measure, restored.

The patriotic zeal and enterprise of Commodore Porter, to whom the command of the expedition was confided, has been fully seconded by the officers and men under his command; and, in reflecting with high satisfaction on the honorable manner in which they have sustained the reputation of their country and its Navy, the sentiment is alloyed only by a concern that, in the fulfilment of that arduous service, the diseases incident to the season and to the climate in which it was discharged have deprived the nation of many useful lives, and among them of several officers of great promise.

In the month of August a very malignant fever made its appearance at Thompson's Island, which threatened the destruction of our station there. Many perished, and the commanding officer was severely attacked. Uncertain as to his fate, and knowing that most of the medical officers had been rendered incapable of discharging their duties, it was thought expedient to send to that post an officer of rank and experience, with several skilful surgeons, to ascertain the origin of the fever, and the probability of its recurrence there in future seasons; to furnish every assistance to those who were suffering, and, if practicable, to avoid the necessity of abandoning so important a station.

Commodore Rodgers, with a promptitude which did him honor, cheerfully accepted that trust, and has discharged it in the manner anticipated from his skill and patriotism. Before his arrival, Commodore Porter, with the greater part of the squadron, had removed from the island, and returned to the United States, in consequence of the prevailing sickness. Much useful information has, however, been obtained as to the state of the island, and great relief afforded to those who had been necessarily left there.

Although our expedition, co-operating with an invigorated administration of the Government of the island of Cuba, and with the corresponding active exertions of a British naval force in the same seas, have almost entirely destroyed the unlicensed piracies from that island, the success of our exertions has not been equally effectual to suppress the same crime, under other pretences and colors, in the neighboring island of Porto Rico. They have been committed there under the abusive issue of Spanish commissions. At an early period of the present year remonstrances were made to the Governor of that island by an agent, who was sent for the purpose, against those outrages on the peaceful commerce of the United States, of which many had occurred. That officer, professing his own want of authority to make satisfaction for our just complaints, answered only by a reference of them to the Government of Spain. The minister of the United States to that court was specially instructed to urge the necessity of the immediate and effectual interposition of that Government, directing restitution and indemnity for wrongs already committed and interdicting the repetition of them. The minister, as has been seen, was debarred access to the Spanish Government, and, in the meantime, several new cases of flagrant outrage have occurred, and citizens of the United States in the island of Porto Rico have suffered, and others been threatened with assassination, for asserting their unquestionable rights, even before the lawful tribunals of the country.

The usual orders have been given to all our public ships to seize American vessels engaged in the slave trade, and bring them in for adjudication; and I have the gratification to state that not one so employed has been discovered, and there is good reason to believe that our flag is now seldom, if at all, disgraced by that traffic.

It is a source of great satisfaction that we are always enabled to recur to the conduct of our Navy with pride and commendation. As a means of national defence, it enjoys the public con-

fidence, and is steadily assuming additional importance. It is submitted, whether a more efficient and equally economical organization of it might not, in several respects, be effected. It is supposed that higher grades than now exist by law would be useful. They would afford well merited rewards to those who have long and faithfully served their country; present the best incentives to good conduct, and the best means of insuring a proper discipline; destroy the inequality in that respect between the military and naval services, and relieve our officers from many inconveniences and mortifications which occur when our vessels meet those of other nations — ours being the only service in which such grades do not exist.

A report of the Postmaster General, which accompanies this communication, will show the present state of the Post Office Department, and its general operations for some years past.

There is established by law eighty-eight thousand six hundred miles of post roads, on which the mail is now transported eighty-five thousand seven hundred miles; and contracts have been made for its transportation on all the established routes, with one or two exceptions. There are five thousand two hundred and forty post offices in the Union, and as many postmasters. The gross amount of postage which accrued from the first of July, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-two, to the first of July, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-three, was one million one hundred and fourteen thousand three hundred and forty-five dollars and twelve cents. During the same period, the expenditures of the Post Office Department amounted to one million one hundred and sixty-nine thousand eight hundred and eighty-five dollars and fifty-one cents, and consisted of the following items: compensation to postmasters, three hundred and fifty-three thousand nine hundred and ninety-five dollars and ninety-eight cents; incidental expenses, thirty thousand eight hundred and sixty-six dollars and thirty-seven cents; transportation of the mail, seven hundred and eighty-four thousand six hundred dollars and eight cents; payments into the Treasury, four hundred and twenty-three dollars and eight cents. On the first of July last there was due to the Department, from postmasters, one hundred and thirty-five thousand two hundred and forty-five dollars and twenty-eight cents; from late postmasters and contractors, two hundred and fifty-six thousand seven hundred and forty-nine dollars and thirty-one cents; making a total amount of balances due to the Department of three hundred and ninety-one thousand nine hundred and ninety-four dollars and fifty-nine cents. These balances

embrace all delinquencies of postmasters and contractors which have taken place since the organization of the Department. There was due by the Department to contractors, on the first day of July last, twenty-six thousand five hundred and forty-eight dollars and sixty-four cents.

The transportation of the mail within five years past has been greatly extended, and the expenditures of the Department proportionably increased. Although the postage which has accrued within the last three years has fallen short of the expenditures two hundred and sixty-two thousand eight hundred and twenty-one dollars and forty-six cents, it appears that collections have been made from the outstanding balances to meet the principal part of the current demands.

It is estimated that not more than two hundred and fifty thousand dollars of the above balances can be collected, and that a considerable part of this sum can only be realized by a resort to legal process. Some improvements in the receipts for postage is expected. A prompt attention to the collection of moneys received by postmasters, it is believed, will enable the Department to continue its operations without aid from the Treasury, unless the expenditure shall be increased by the establishment of new mail-routes.

A revision of some parts of the post office law may be necessary ; and it is submitted whether it would not be proper to provide for the appointment of postmasters, where the compensation exceeds a certain amount, by nomination to the Senate, as other officers of the General Government are appointed.

Having communicated my views to Congress at the commencement of the last session respecting the encouragement which ought to be given to our manufactures, and the principle on which it should be founded, I have only to add that those views remain unchanged, and that the present state of those countries with which we have the most immediate political relations and greatest commercial intercourse tends to confirm them. Under this impression, I recommend a review of the tariff, for the purpose of affording such additional protection to those articles which we are prepared to manufacture, or which are more immediately connected with the defence and independence of the country.

The actual state of the public accounts furnishes additional evidence of the efficiency of the present system of accountability in relation to the public expenditure. Of the money drawn from the Treasury since the fourth of March, one thou-

sand eight hundred and seventeen, the sum remaining unaccounted for on the thirtieth of September last is more than a million and a half of dollars less than on the thirtieth of September preceding ; and during the same period a reduction of nearly a million of dollars has been made in the amount of the unsettled accounts for moneys advanced previously to the fourth of March, one thousand eight hundred and seventeen. It will be obvious that, in proportion as the mass of accounts of the latter description is diminished by settlement, the difficulty of settling the residue is increased from the consideration that, in many instances, it can be obtained only by a legal process. For more precise details on this subject, I refer to a report from the First Comptroller of the Treasury.

The sum which was appropriated at the last session for the repair of the Cumberland road has been applied with good effect to that object. A final report has not yet been received from the agent who was appointed to superintend it. As soon as it is received it shall be communicated to Congress.

Many patriotic and enlightened citizens, who have made the subject an object of particular investigation, have suggested an improvement of still greater importance. They are of opinion that the waters of the Chesapeake and Ohio may be connected together by one continued canal, and at an expense far short of the value and importance of the object to be obtained. If this could be accomplished, it is impossible to calculate the beneficial consequences which would result from it. A great portion of the produce of the very fertile country through which it would pass would find a market through that channel. Troops might be moved with great facility in war, with cannon, and every kind of munition, and in either direction. Connecting the Atlantic with the Western country, in a line passing through the seat of the national Government, it would contribute essentially to strengthen the bond of Union itself. Believing, as I do, that Congress possess the right to appropriate money for such a national object, (the jurisdiction remaining to the States through which the canal would pass,) I submit it to your consideration whether it may not be advisable to authorize, by an adequate appropriation, the employment of a suitable number of the officers of the Corps of Engineers to examine the unexplored ground during the next season, and to report their opinion thereon. It will likewise be proper to extend their examination to the several routes through which the waters of the Ohio may be connected, by canal, with those of Lake Erie.

As the Cumberland road will require annual repair, and Congress have not thought it expedient to recommend to the States an amendment to the Constitution, for the purpose of vesting in the United States a power to adopt and execute a system of internal improvement, it is also submitted to your consideration whether it may not be expedient to authorize the Executive to enter into an arrangement with the several States through which the road passes to establish tolls each within its limits, for the purpose of defraying the expense of future repairs, and of providing also, by suitable penalties, for its protection against future injuries.

The act of Congress of the seventh of May, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-two, appropriated the sum of twenty-two thousand seven hundred dollars for the purpose of erecting two piers as a shelter for vessels from ice near Cape Henlopen, Delaware Bay. To effect the object of the act, the officers of the Board of Engineers, with Commodore Bainbridge, were directed to prepare plans and estimates of piers sufficient to answer the purpose intended by the act. It appears by their report, which accompanies the documents from the War Department, that the appropriation is not adequate to the purpose intended; and, as the piers would be of great service, both to the navigation of the Delaware Bay and the protection of vessels on the adjacent parts of the coast, I submit for the consideration of Congress whether additional and sufficient appropriation should not be made.

The Board of Engineers were also directed to examine and survey the entrance of the harbor of the port of Presque Isle in Pennsylvania, in order to make an estimate of the expense of removing the obstructions to the entrance, with a plan of the best mode of effecting the same, under the appropriation for that purpose by act of Congress passed third March last. The report of the Board accompanies the papers from the War Department, and is submitted for the consideration of Congress.

A strong hope has been long entertained, founded on the heroic struggle of the Greeks, that they would succeed in their contest, and resume their equal station among the nations of the earth. It is believed that the whole civilized world takes a deep interest in their welfare. Although no power has declared in their favor, yet none, according to our information, has taken part against them. Their cause and their name have protected them from dangers which might ere this have overwhelmed any other people. The ordinary calculations of interest and of ac-

quisition, with a view to aggrandizement, which mingle so much in the transactions of nations, seem to have had no effect in regard to them. From the facts which have come to our knowledge, there is good cause to believe that their enemy has lost forever all dominion over them ; that Greece will become again an independent nation. That she may obtain that rank is the object of our most ardent wishes.

It was stated at the commencement of the last session that a great effort was then making in Spain and Portugal to improve the condition of the people of those countries, and that it appeared to be conducted with extraordinary moderation. It need scarcely be remarked that the result has been, so far, very different from what was then anticipated. Of events in that quarter of the globe with which we have so much intercourse, and from which we derive our origin, we have always been anxious and interested spectators. The citizens of the United States cherish sentiments the most friendly in favor of the liberty and happiness of their fellow-men on that side of the Atlantic. In the wars of the European powers in matters relating to themselves we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do. It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparation for our defence. With the movements in this hemisphere we are, of necessity, more immediately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers. The political system of the allied powers is essentially different in this respect from that of America. This difference proceeds from that which exists in their respective Governments. And to the defence of our own, which has been achieved by the loss of so much blood and treasure, and matured by the wisdom of their most enlightened citizens, and under which we have enjoyed unexampled felicity, this whole nation is devoted. We owe it, therefore, to candor, and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers, to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the Governments who have declared their independence, and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States. In the war between these new Governments and Spain we declared our neutrality

at the time of their recognition, and to this we have adhered and shall continue to adhere, provided no change shall occur which, in the judgment of the competent authorities of this Government, shall make a corresponding change on the part of the United States indispensable to their security.

The late events in Spain and Portugal show that Europe is still unsettled. Of this important fact no stronger proof can be adduced than that the allied powers should have thought it proper, on any principle satisfactory to themselves, to have interposed, by force, in the internal concerns of Spain. To what extent such interposition may be carried, on the same principle, is a question in which all independent powers whose Governments differ from theirs are interested, even those most remote, and surely none more so than the United States. Our policy in regard to Europe, which was adopted at an early stage of the wars which have so long agitated that quarter of the globe, nevertheless remains the same, which is, not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its powers; to consider the Government de facto as the legitimate Government for us; to cultivate friendly relations with it, and to preserve those relations by a frank, firm, and manly policy, meeting, in all instances, the just claims of every power; submitting to injuries from none. But in regard to these continents, circumstances are eminently and conspicuously different. It is impossible that the allied powers should extend their political system to any portion of either continent without endangering our peace and happiness; nor can any one believe that our Southern brethren, if left to themselves, would adopt it of their own accord. It is equally impossible, therefore, that we should behold such interposition, in any form, with indifference. If we look to the comparative strength and resources of Spain and those new Governments, and their distance from each other, it must be obvious that she can never subdue them. It is still the true policy of the United States to leave the parties to themselves, in the hope that other powers will pursue the same course.

If we compare the present condition of our Union with its actual state at the close of our Revolution, the history of the world furnishes no example of a progress in improvement in all the important circumstances which constitute the happiness of a nation which bears any resemblance to it. At the first epoch our population did not exceed three millions. By the last census it amounted to about ten millions, and, what is more extraordinary, it is almost altogether native, for the emigration from other countries has been inconsiderable. At the first epoch half the territory within our acknowledged limits was uninhabited and a wilderness. Since then new territory has

been acquired of vast extent, comprising within it many rivers, particularly the Mississippi, the navigation of which to the ocean was of the highest importance to the original States. Over this territory our population has expanded in every direction, and new States have been established almost equal in number to those which formed the first bond of our Union. This expansion of our population and accession of new States to our Union have had the happiest effect on all its highest interests. That it has eminently augmented our resources and added to our strength and respectability as a power is admitted by all. But it is not in these important circumstances only that this happy effect is felt. It is manifest that, by enlarging the basis of our system and increasing the number of States, the system itself has been greatly strengthened in both its branches. Consolidation and disunion have thereby been rendered equally impracticable. Each Government, confiding in its own strength, has less to apprehend from the other; and in consequence, each, enjoying a greater freedom of action, is rendered more efficient for all the purposes for which it was instituted. It is unnecessary to treat here of the vast improvement made in the system itself by the adoption of this Constitution, and of its happy effect in elevating the character and in protecting the rights of the nation as well as of individuals. To what, then, do we owe these blessings? It is known to all that we derive them from the excellence of our institutions. Ought we not, then, to adopt every measure which may be necessary to perpetuate them?

JAMES MONROE.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 2, 1823.

Monroe's famous message of December 2, 1823, is here given entire, to enable the student to understand more fully the general political condition and relations of the country at the time when the "Monroe doctrine" was stated. But the two passages which are expressly devoted to the subject of foreign interference are brief and distinct from each other; and they are here printed in italics (pp. 3 and 14).

"Monroe alone of all the Presidents," writes President Gilman, in the chapter on the Monroe Doctrine in his volume on Monroe, in the *American Statesmen* series, "has announced, without legislative sanction, a political dictum, which is still regarded as fundamental law, and bears with it the stamp of authority in foreign courts as well as in domestic councils. . . . But it was because he pronounced not only the opinion then prevalent, but a tradition of other days, which had been gradually expanded, and to which the country was wonted, that his words carried with them the sanction of public law. . . . In the writings, both public and private, of the fathers of

the Republic, we see how clearly they recognized the value of separation from European politics, and of repelling, as far as possible, European interference with American interests." President Gilman traces carefully the development of the doctrine, and his summary is here given as the best which has been made:—

1. Governor Thomas Pownall, in a work entitled "A Memorial to the Sovereigns of Europe," observed, in 1780, that a people "whose empire stands singly predominant on a great continent" can hardly "suffer in their borders such a monopoly as the European Hudson Bay Company"; and, again, "America must avoid complication with European politics," or "the entanglement of alliances, having no connections with Europe other than commercial."

2. One of the earliest of like allusions happens to be in a letter of Monroe to Madison, December 6, 1784, when he says that "the conduct of Spain respecting the Mississippi, etc., requires the immediate attention of Congress."

3. A few months later, June 17, 1785, Jefferson, writing to Monroe from Paris, begs him to add his "testimony to that of every thinking American, in order to satisfy our countrymen how much it is their interest to preserve, *uninfected by contagion*, those peculiarities in their government and manners to which they are indebted for those blessings."

4. Washington wrote to Jefferson, January 1, 1788, in the interval which preceded the ratification of the Constitution, "An energetic general government must prevent the several States from involving themselves in the political disputes of the European powers."

5. When Washington's first term drew near its close he submitted to Madison the draft of a farewell address (May 20, 1792), and in it he gives emphasis to the independence of the United States, in a phrase which with various turns was perpetuated through the subsequent revisions of that paper. His original language was this: "The extent of our country, the diversity of our climate and soil, and the various productions of the States consequent to both, . . . may render the whole, at no distant period, *one of the most independent nations in the world*."

6. Madison's modification of this draft has the following sentence (June 20, 1792): "The diversities [of this country] may give to the whole *a more entire independence* than has, perhaps, fallen to the lot of any other nation."

7. Four years later (prior to May 10, 1796) Washington submits to Hamilton memoranda for a farewell address, and says again: "If this country can remain in peace twenty years longer, . . . such in all probability will be its population, riches, and resources, when combined with *its peculiarly happy and remote situation* from the other quarters of the globe, as to *bid defiance in a just cause to any earthly power whatsoever*."

8. The address finally issued says: "The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible." "Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none or a very remote relation." "Our detached and distant situation." "Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation?" (September 17, 1796.)

9. John Adams speaks thus in his first inaugural address (March 4, 1797): "If [the control of an election] can be obtained by foreign nations by flattery or menaces, by fraud or violence, by terror, intrigue, or venality, the government may not be the choice of the American people, but of foreign nations. *It may be foreign nations who govern us*, and not we the people who govern ourselves."

10. In the second annual address of Adams this paragraph occurs (December 8, 1798):—

“To the usual subjects of gratitude I cannot omit to add one of the first importance to our well-being and safety,—I mean that spirit which has arisen in our country against the menaces and aggressions of a foreign nation. A manly sense of national honor, dignity, and independence has appeared, which, if encouraged and invigorated by every branch of the government, will enable us to view undismayed the enterprises of any foreign power, and become the sure foundation of national prosperity and glory.”

11. There are three extracts from Jefferson’s writings which show the tendency of his mind at the beginning of the century. He said to Thomas Paine (March 18, 1801):—

“Determined as we are to avoid, if possible, wasting the energies of our people in war and destruction, we shall avoid implicating ourselves with the powers of Europe, even in support of principles which we mean to pursue. They have so many other interests different from ours that we must avoid being entangled in them. We believe we can enforce those principles, as to ourselves, by peaceable means, now that we are likely to have our public councils detached from foreign views.”

A little later he wrote to William Short (October 3, 1801):—

“We have a perfect horror at everything like connecting ourselves with the politics of Europe. It would indeed be advantageous to us to have neutral rights established on a broad ground; but no dependence can be placed in any European coalition for that. They have so many other by-interests of greater weight that some one or other will always be bought off. To be entangled with them would be a much greater evil than a temporary acquiescence in the false principles which have prevailed.”

Again he says (October 29, 1808), “We consider their interests and ours as the same, and that the object of both must be to exclude all European influence in this hemisphere.”

12. At a cabinet meeting May 13, 1818, President Monroe propounded several questions on the subject of foreign affairs, of which the fifth, as recorded by J. Q. Adams, was this: “Whether the ministers of the United States in Europe shall be instructed that the United States will not join in any project of interposition between Spain and the South Americans, which should not be to *promote the complete independence of those provinces*; and whether measures shall be taken to ascertain if this be the policy of the British government, and, if so, to establish a concert with them for the support of this policy.” He adds that all these points were discussed, without much difference of opinion.

13. On July 31, 1818, Rush had an important interview with Castlereagh in respect to a proposed mediation of Great Britain between Spain and her colonies. The co-operation of the United States was desired. Mr. Rush informed the British minister that “the United States would decline taking part, if they took part at all, in any plan of pacification, except *on the basis of the independence of the colonies*. This,” he added, “was the determination to which *his government had come on much deliberation*.”

14. August 4, 1820, Jefferson writes to William Short:—

“From many conversations with him [M. Correa, appointed minister to Brazil by the government of Portugal], I hope he sees, and will promote in his new situation, the advantages of a cordial fraternization among all the American nations, and the importance of their coalescing in an American system of policy, totally independent of and unconnected with that of Europe. The day is not distant when we may formally require a meridian

of partition through the ocean which separates the two hemispheres, on the hither side of which no European gun shall ever be heard, nor an American on the other; and when, during the rage of the eternal wars of Europe, the lion and the lamb, within our regions, shall lie down together in peace. . . . The principles of society there and here, then, are radically different, and I hope no American patriot will ever lose sight of the essential policy of interdicting in the seas and territories of both Americas the ferocious and sanguinary contests of Europe. I wish to see this coalition begun."

15. Gallatin writes to J. Q. Adams, June 24, 1823, that before leaving Paris he had said to M. Chateaubriand on May 13: "The United States would undoubtedly preserve their neutrality provided it were respected, and avoid every interference with the politics of Europe. . . . On the other hand, they would not suffer others to interfere against the emancipation of America."

A year previously, April 26, 1822, he had written from Paris that he had said to Monsieur, "America, having acquired the power, had determined to be no longer governed by Europe, . . . that we had done it [recognized the independence of the Spanish-American provinces] without any reference to the form of government adopted by the several provinces, and that the question, being one of national independence, was really altogether unconnected with any of those respecting internal institutions which agitated Europe."

16. John Quincy Adams, in his diary under date of July 17, 1823, makes a note which the editor of that work regards as "the first hint of the policy so well known afterwards as the Monroe Doctrine." In a conversation with Baron Tuyl, the Russian minister, on the Northwest Coast question, Mr. Adams, then Secretary of State, told him that "we should contest the right of Russia to *any* territorial establishment on this continent, and that we should assume distinctly the principle that the American continents are no longer subjects for any new European colonial establishments."

17. After Canning had proposed to Rush (September 19, 1823) that the United States should co-operate with England in preventing European interference with the Spanish-American colonies, Monroe consulted Jefferson, as well as the cabinet, on the course which it was advisable to take, and with their approbation prepared his message. Jefferson's reply to the President (October 24, 1823) was as follows:—

"The question presented by the letters you have sent me is the most momentous which has ever been offered to my contemplation since that of Independence. That made us a nation, this sets our compass and points the course which we are to steer through the ocean of time opening on us. And never could we embark on it under circumstances more auspicious. Our first and fundamental maxim should be: *never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe; our second, never to suffer Europe to intermeddle with cis-Atlantic affairs.* America, North and South, has a set of interests distinct from those of Europe, and peculiarly her own. She should therefore have a system of her own, separate and apart from that of Europe. While the last is laboring to become the domicile of despotism, our endeavor should surely be to make our hemisphere that of freedom."

An extract, dated 1824, and recently published, from the Diary of William Plumer, who was a member of Congress during Monroe's administration, gives to John Quincy Adams the credit of drafting the important portions of the message. He says that a day or two before Congress met Monroe was hesitating about the allusion to the interference of the Holy Alliance with Spanish America, and consulted the Secretary of State about omitting it. Adams remained firm, replying, "You have my sentiments on the sub-

ject already, and I see no reason to alter them." "Well," said the President, "it is written, and I will not change it now."

Enough has been quoted to show that Mr. Sumner is not justified in saying that the "Monroe doctrine proceeded from Canning," and that he was "its inventor, promoter, and champion, at least so far as it bears against European intervention in American affairs." Nevertheless, Canning is entitled to high praise for the part which he took in the recognition of the Spanish republics, a part which almost justified his proud utterance, "I called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old."

The completest bibliography of the Monroe Doctrine, so complete that no other need be referred to, is that prepared by Professor J. F. Jameson, and published in the appendix to President Gilman's work. Professor Jameson calls attention to everything of importance touching the immediate origin of the Doctrine, to the discussions of it in the chief treatises on international law and in more special treatises and articles, and to the literature relating to the occasions on which it has been applied. In 1886 Samuel J. Tilden was led by the current controversies concerning South American affairs to prepare a careful history of the origin of the Monroe Doctrine, which he published in the *New York Sun*. The material portions of this are republished in Bigelow's *Life of Tilden*, ii. 323. Some of the most important treatments of the subject have been newspaper articles, as in this case. The controversies of 1895 have prompted many such articles, the most thorough and important of which is that by Professor John B. Moore in the *New York Evening Post*, May 4, 1895. A very just and succinct statement of what the Monroe Doctrine is and what it is not is that by Theodore D. Woolsey in the article on the subject in Johnson's *Cyclopædia*.

PUBLISHED BY
THE DIRECTORS OF THE OLD SOUTH WORK,
Old South Meeting-house, Boston, Mass.



The English Bible.

EXTRACTS FROM THE IMPORTANT ENGLISH VERSIONS OF THE BIBLE
FROM WICLIF'S TO THE KING JAMES VERSION.

Bible. Eng. Selections, 1896.

WICLIF, 1380.— *Matthew v.-vi.* 13.

And Jhesus seyng the peple, went up into an hil; and whanne he was sett, his disciplis camen to him. And he openyde his mouthe, and taughte hem; and seide, Blessid be pore men in spirit; for the kyngdom of hevenes is herun. Blessid ben mylde men: for thei schulen weelde the erthe. Blessid ben thei that mournen: for thei schal be coumfortid. Blessid be thei that hungren and thirsten rigtwisnesse: for thei schal be fulfilled. Blessid ben merciful men: for thei schul gete mercy. Blessid ben thei that ben of clene herte: for thei schulen se god. Blessid ben pesible men: for thei schulen be clepid goddis children. Blessid ben thei that suffren persecucioun for rightwisnesse: for the kyngdom of hevenes is hern. Ye schul be blessid whanne men schul curse you, and schul pursue you: and schul seye al yvel agens you lynge for me. Joie ye and be ye glade: for your meede is plenteous in hevenes: for so thei han pursued also prophetis that weren bifore you. Ye ben salt of the erthe, that if the salt vanishe away wherynne schal it be saltid? to nothing it is worth over, no but it be cast out, and be defoulid of men. Ye ben light of the world, a citee sett on an hill may not be hid. Ne me teen-dith not a lanterne and puttith it undir a bushel: but on a candilstik that it give light to alle that ben in the hous. So, schyne your light before men, that thei see youre gode workis, and glorifie your fadir that is in hevenes. Nyle ghe deme that I cam to undo the Lawe or the prophetis, I cam not to undo the lawe but to fuffille. Forsothe I sey to you till hevene and erthe passe, oon lettre, or oon tittle, schal not passe fro the Lawe

til alle thingis be don. Therefore he that brekith oon of these leeste maundementis, and techith thus men, schal be clepid the Leest in the rewme of hevenes : but he that doth, and techith, schal be clepid greet in the kyngdom of hevenes. And I seye to you that but your rigtwisnesse be more plentuous thanne of Scribis and Farisees, ye schul not entre in to the kyngdom of hevenes. Ye han herd that it was seide to olde men : thou schalt not sle, and he that sleeth, schal be gilty to doom. But I seye to you that ech man that is wroth to his brothir schal be gilty to doom, and he that seith to his brother, fugh, schal be gilty to the counsell ; but he that seith, fool, schal be gilty into the fire of helle. Therefore if thou offrist thi gifte at the auter, & there thou bithenkist that thi brother hath somewhat agens thee, leve there thi gifte bfore the auter, and go first to be recounseilid to thi brothir, and thanne thou schalt come and schalt offre thi gifte. Be thou consenting to thin adversarie soone, while thou art in the weye with him, lest peradventure thin adversarie take thee to the domesman, and the domesman take thee to the mynistre, and thou be sent in to prisoun. Treuly I sey to thee thou schalt not go out fro thennes till thou yelde the laste ferthing. . . . Eftsoone ye han herd that it was seid to olde men thou schalt not forswere but thou schalt yeld thin othis to the lord. But I seye to you, that ye swere not for any thing, neither bi hevne for it is the trone of god. Neither bi erthe, for it is the stool of his feet ; neither by Jerusalem, for it is the citee of a greet kyng. Neither thou schalt swere bi thin heed, for thou maist not make oon heer whyt ne black. But be your word ghe ghe, nay nay, and that, that is more than these is of yvel. ghe han herd that it hath be seid yghe for yghe, and toth for toth. But I seye to you that ye aghenstonde not an yvel man, but if ony smyte thee in the right cheke, schewe to him also the oother. And to him that stryve with thee in doom, and take away thi coate, leewe thou also to Him thi mantel. And whoever constreynith thee a thousynd pacis : go thou with him other tweyne. Give thou to him that axith of the, and turne thou not away fro him that wole borowe of thee. ghe han herd that it was seid thou schalt love thi neighbore, and hate thin enemy. But I seye to you, Love ye your enemyes, do ye wel to hem that haten you, and prie ye for hem that pursuen and sclaundren you. That ye be the sones of your fadir that is in hevenes, that makith his sunne to rise upon gode, and yvel men, and reyneth on just men and unjust. For if ye loven him that loven you, what meede shulen ye have ? whether pupplicants don not this ? And

if ghe greeten youre bretheren oonly, what schulen ye do more? ne don not hethene men this? Therefor be ye parfit, as your hevenly fadir is parfit.

Takith heed that ye do not your rigtwisnesse bifore men, to be seyn of hem; ellis ye schul have no meede at your fadir that is in hevenes. Therefore whanne thou doist almes, nyle thou trumpe bifore thee as ypocrites don in synagogis and stretis, that thei be worschid of men; sothely I sey to you thei han resseyved her meede. But whanne thou doist almes, knowe not thei left hond what thi right hond doith. That thin almes be in hidlis, and thi fadir that seeth in hidlis schal quyte thee. And whanne ye preyen, ye schulen not be as ypocrites that loven to preye stondynge in synagogis, and corneris of streetis, to be seyn of men, treuly I sey to yow thei han resseyved her meede. But whanne thou schalt prie, entre into thi couche, and whanne the dore is schitt, prie thi fadir in hidlis, and thi fadir that seeth in hidlis, schal yelde to thee. But in priyng nyle ye speke myche, as hethene men don for thei gessen that thei ben herd in her myche speche. Therefore nyle ye be maad lyk to hem for your fadir woot what is nede to you, bifore that ye axen him. And thus ye schulen pry. Our fadir that art in hevenys; halewid be thi name. Thi kyngdom come to, be thi wil done in erthe as in hevene. Give to us this day oure breed ovir othir Substaunce. And forgive to us our dettis as we forgiven to oure dettouris. And lede us not into temptacioun: but delyvere us from yvel amen.

TYNDALE, 1534.—*Luke xv.* 11–32.

And he sayde: a certayne man had two sonnes, and the yonger of them sade to his father: father geve me my parte of the goodes that to me belongeth. And he devided vnto them his substaunce. And not longe after, the yonger sonne gathered all that he had to gedder, and toke his iorney into a farre countre, and theare he wasted his goodes with royetous lyvinge. And when he had spent all that he had, ther rose a greate derth thorow out all that same londe, and he began to lacke. And he went and clave to a citesyn of that same countre, which sent him to his felde, to kepe his swyne. And he wold fayne have filled his bely with the coddies that the swyne ate: and noo man gave him.

Then he came to him selfe and sayde: how many hyred servauntes at my fathers, have breed ynough, and I dye for hunger.

I will aryse, and goo to my father and will saye vnto him: father, I have synned agaynst heven and before the, and am no moare worthy to be called thy sonne, make me as one of thy hyred servauntes. And he arose and went to his father. And when he was yet agreate waye of, his father sawe him and had compassion, and ran and fell on his necke, and kyssed him. And the sonne sayd vnto him: father, I have synned agaynst heven, and in thy sight, and am no moare worthy to be called thy sonne. But his father sayde to his servauntes: bringe forth that best garment and put it on him, and put a rynge on his honde, and shoves on his fete. And bringe hidder that fatted caulfe, and kyll him, and let vs eate and be mery: for this my sonne was deed, and is alyve agayne, he was loste, and is now founde. And they began to be merye.

The elder brother was in the felde, and when he cam and drewe nye to the housse, he herde minstrelcy and daunsynge, and called one of his servauntes, and axed what thoose thinges meante. And he sayd vnto him: thy brother is come, and thy father had kyllled the fatted caulfe, because he hath receaved him safe and sounde. And he was angry, and wolde not goo in. Then came his father out, and entreated him. He answered and sayde to his father: Loo these many yeaes have I done the service, nether brake at eny tyme thy commaundment, and yet gavest thou me never soo moche as a kyd to make mery with my lovers: but assone as this thy sonne was come, which hath devoured thy goodes with harlootes, thou haste for his pleasure kyllled the fatted caulfe. And he sayd vnto him: Sonne, thou wast ever with me, and all that I have, is thyne: it was mete that we shuld make mery and be glad: for this thy brother was deed, and is a lyve agayne: and was loste, and is founde.

COVERDALE, 1535.—*Psalm xxiii.*

The Lorde is my shepherde, I can want nothinge.

He fedeth me in a greene pasture & ledeth me to a fresh water.

He quickeneth my soule and bringeth me forth in the waye of rightuousnes for his names sake.

Though I shulde walke now in the valley of the shadowe of death, yet I feare no euell, for thou art with me; thy staffe & thy shepe-hoke comfort me.

Thou preparest a table before me agaynst mine enemies; thou anoyntest my heade with oyle, and fyllest my cuppe full.

Oh let thy louying kyndness & mercy folowe me all the dayes off my life that I maye dwell in the house off the Lorde for euer.

CRANMER (*The Great Bible*), 1539.—*John xix.* 16–30.

NOTE.—The Psalms of this version are well known, having been retained in the Book of Common Prayer. The student can compare them with the King James version.

Then delyuered he hym vnto them, to be crucyfyed. And they toke Iesus, and led hym away: And he bare hys crosse, and went forth into a place, which is called the place of deed mens sculles. But in Hebrue, Golgotha: where they crucyfyed hym, and two other with hym, on ether syde one, and Iesus in the myddes. And Pylate wrote a tytyle, and put it on the crosse. The wrytynge was. Iesus of Nazareth kinge of the Iewes. Thys tytyle redd many of the Iewes. For the place where Iesus was crucyfyed, was nye to the cytye. And it was wrytten in Hebrue, and Greke and Latyn. Then sayde the hye prestes of the Iewes to Pylate: wryte not kyng of the Iewes, but that he sayde, I am kyng of the Iewes. Pylate answered: what I haue wrytten, that haue I wrytten.

Then the soudiers, when they had crucyfyed Iesus, toke his garmentes and made foure partes, to euery soudier a parte, and also hys coate. The coate was wythout seme, wrought vpon thorowe out. They sayd therfore amonge them selues: Let vs not deuyde it, but cast lotes for it, who shal haue it. That the scripture myght be fulfilled, sayinge: They parted my rayment amonge them, and for my coate dyd they cast lotes. And the soudiers dyd soche thynges in dede.

There stode by the crosse of Iesus his mother, and his mothers syster, Mary the wyfe of Cleophas, and Mary Magdalene. When Iesus therfore sawe his mother, and the disciple stondinge whom he loued, he sayeth vnto his mother: woman: behold thy sonne. Then sayd he to the disciple: beholde thy mother. And from that houre the disciple toke her for his awne.

After these thinges, Iesus knowing that all thinges were now performed: that the scripture myght be fulfilled: he sayeth: I thyrst So ther stode a vessell by, full of veneger. Therefore they filled a sponge with veneger, and wounde it about with ysope, and put it to his mouth. Assone as Iesus then receaued of the veneger, he sayde: It is finisshed, and bowed his heed, and gaue vp the goost.

GENEVA, 1557.—*Romans viii.* 14–39.

For as many as are led by the Sprite of God: they are the sonnes of God. For ye haue not receaued the Sprite of bondage to feare any more: but ye haue receaued the Sprite of adoption, wherby we crye Abba, *that is say*, Father. The which selfe same Sprite beareth witenes together with our Sprite, that we are the sonnes of God. If *we be* sonnes: *we are* also heyres, the heyres I meane of God, and heyres anexed with Christ: yf so be that we suffer together *with him*, that we may also be glorified together *with him*. For I confirme, that the afflictions of this lyfe *are* not worthy of the glorie which shal be shewed vnto vs. For the feruent desire of the creature abydeth, lokyng when the sonnes of God shal appere. Because the creature is subiect to vanitie, not of it owne wil: but by reason of him which hath subdued it in hope.

Because the same creature also, shal be delyuered from the bondage of corruption, into the glorious libertie of the sonnes of God. For we knowe that euery creature groneth with vs also, and trauayleth in payne euen vnto this *tyme*. Not only *the creature*, but euen we also which haue the fyrst frutes of the Sprite, do sighe in our selues, and waite for the adoption, *euen* the deliuerance of our body. For we are saued by hope: but hope that is sene, is no hope, for how can a man hope for that which he seeth? But and yf we hope for that we se not, *then* do we with patience abyde for it.

Lykewyse the Sprite also helpeth our infirmities: for we knowe not what to praye as we ought: but the Sprite asketh for vs with gronynges, which can not be expressed with tonge. And he that searcheth the heartes, knoweth what is the meaning of the Sprite: for he maketh intercession of the Sainctes, accordyng to the pleasure of God. Also we knowe that all thinges worcke for the best vnto them that loue God, which also are called of *his* purpose. For those which he knewe before, he also ordeyned before, that they should be made lyke fashioned vnto the image of his Sonne: that he myght be the fyrst begotten among many brethren. Moreouer, which he appoynted before, them also he called, and whome he called, them also he iustified, and whome he iustified, them he also glorified.

What shal we then say to these thinges? If God be on our syde, who can be agaynst vs? Which spared not his owne Sonne, but gaue him for vs all *to death*: how shal he not with him geue vs all thinges also? Who shal laye any thing to the

charge of Goddes chosen? *it is* God that iustifieth: Who then shal condemne? *it is* Christ which is dead, yea rather which is risen agayne: which is also at the ryght hand of God, and maketh intercession for vs.

Who shal separate vs from the loue of Christe? shal tribulation, or anguise, or persecution, ether hunger, ether nakednes, ether peril, ether sworde? As it is wrytten, For thy sake are we kylled all day longe, and are counted as shepe appointed to be slayne. Neuerthelesse, in all these thynges we are more then conquerers through him that loued vs. For I am perswaded that nether death, nether lyfe, nether Angels, nor principalities, nether powers, nether thinges present, nether thinges to come, Nether height, nether depth, nether any other creature shalbe able to departe vs from the loue of God, which is in Christ Iesus our Lord.

THE BISHOPS' BIBLE, 1568.—*Matthew iii.* 4-12.

John had his rayment of camels heare, and a letherne girdle about his loines, his meate was locustes and wild honey.

Then went out to him Hierusalem, and all Jurie, and al the region rounde about Jordane.

And were baptised of him in Jordane, confessing their sinnes.

But when he sawe many of the Pharisees and Saducees comme to his baptisme, he said vnto them, O generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the anger to comme.

Bring foorth therefore frutes meete for repentance.

And be not of such minde, that ye would say within your selues, We haue Abraham to (our) father; For I say vnto you, that God is able of these stones to rayse vp children vnto Abraham.

Euen now is the axe also put into the roote of the trees: Wherefore, every tree which bringeth not foorth good fruite is hewen downe and cast into the fire.

I baptize you in water vnto repentance: but he that cometh after me is mightier than I, whose shoes I am not woorthy to beare, he shall baptize you with the holye ghost and with fyre.

Whose fann is in his hand, and he will thoroughly purge his floore, and gather his wheate into (his) garner: but wil burne vp the chaffe with vnquencheable fire.

RHEIMS (*Douay*), 1582.— *Hebrews xi.*

And faith is, the substance of things to be hoped for, the argument of things not appearing. For in this the old men obtained testimonie.

By faith, vve vnderstand that the vvorldes vvere framed by the vvord of God: that of inuisible things visible things might be made.

By faith, Abel offered a greater hoste to God then Cain: by vvhich he obtained testimonie that he vvvas iust, God giuing testimonie to his giftes, and by it, he being dead, yet speaketh. By faith Henoch vvvas translated, that he should not see death, and he vvvas not found: because God translated him. for before his translation he had testimonie that he had pleased God. But vvithout faith it is impossible to please God. For he that commeth to God, must beleue that he is, and is a revvarder to them that seeke him.

By faith, Noë hauing receiued an ansvver concerning those things vvhich as yet vvere not seen, fearing, framed the arke for the sauing of his house, by the vvhich he condemned the vvorld: and vvvas instituted heire of the iustice vvhich is by faith.

By faith, he that is called, Abraham, obeied to goe forth into the place vvhich he vvvas to receiue for inheritance: and he vvvent forth, not knovving vvhither he vvvent. By faith, he abode in the land of promise, as in a strange land, dvvelling in cottages vvith Isaac and Iacob the co-heires of the same promise. For he expected the citie that hath foundations: vvwhose artificer and maker is God.

By faith, Sara also her self being barren, receiued vertue in conceauing of seede, yea past the time of age: because she beleued that he vvvas faithful which had promised. For the vvhich cause euen of one (and him quite dead) there rose as the starres of heauen in multitude, and as the sand that is by the sea shore innumerable.

According to faith died al these, not hauing receiued the promises, but beholding them a farre of, and saluting them, and confessing that they are pilgrimes and strangers vpon the earth: for they that say these things, doe signifie that they seeke a countrie. And in deede if they had been mindeful of the same from vvhence they came forth, they had time verely to returne. But novv they desire a better, that is to say, a heauenly. Therefore God is not confounded to be called their God. for he hath prepared them a citie.

By faith, Abraham offered Isaac, vvhhen he vvas tempted : and his onlie-begotten did he offer vvho had receiued the promises : (to vvhom it vvas said, *That in Isaac shal seede be called to thee.*) accounting that God is able to raise vp euen from the dead. wherevpon he receiued him also for a parable.

By faith, also of things to come, Isaac blessed Iacob and Esau.

By faith, Iacob dying, blessed euery one of the sonnes of Ioseph : and adored the toppe of his rodde.

By faith, Ioseph dying, made mention of the going forth of the children of Israël : and gaue commaundement concerning his bones.

By faith, Moyses being borne, vvas hidde three monethes by his parents : because they savv him a proper infant, and they feared not the kings edict.

By faith, Moyses being made great, denied him self to be the sonne of Pharaos daughter : rather choosing to be afflicted vvith the people of God, then to haue the pleasure of temporal sinne, esteeming the reproche of Christ, greater riches then the treasure of the Ægyptians. for he looked vnto the remuneration.

By faith, he left Ægypt : not fearing the fiercenes of the king. for him that is inuisible he susteined as if he had seen him. By faith, he celebrated the Pasche, and the sheading of the bloud : that he vvwhich destroied the first-borne, might not touche them. By faith they passed the redde sea as it vvere by the drie land : vvwhich the Ægyptians assaying, vvere deuoured.

By faith the vualles of Iericho fel dovvn, by the circuting of seuen daies.

By faith, Rahab the harlot perished not vvith the incredulous, receiuing the spies vvith peace.

And vvhat shal I yet say ? For the time vvil faile me telling of Gedeon, Barac, Sampson, Iephtè, Daud, Samuël, and the prophets : vvho by faith ouercame kingdoms, vvrought iustice, obtained promises, stopped the mouthes of lions, extinguished the force of fire, repelled the edge of the svvord, recouered of their infirmitie, vvere made strong in battel, turned avvay the campe of forainers : vvomen receiued of resurrection their dead. and others vvere racked, not accepting redemption, that they might finde a better resurrection.

And others had trial of mockeries and stripes, moreouer also of bandes and prisons : they vvere stoned, they vvere hevved, they vvere tempted, they died in the slaughter of the svvord, they vvent about in sheep-skinnes, in goates skinnes, needy, in

distresse, afflicted: of vvhom the vworld vvas not vvorthie. vvandering in desertes, in mountaines and dennes, and in caues of the earth. And al these being approued by the testimonie of faith, receiued not the promise, God for vs prouiding some better thing, that they vvithout vs should not be consummate.

And therefore vve also hauing so great a cloud of vvitnesses put vpon vs: laying avvay al vveight and sinne that compasseth vs, by patience let vs runne to the fight proposed vnto vs, looking on the author of faith, and the consummator IESVS, vvho, ioy being proposed vnto him, sustained the crosse, contemning confusion, and sitteth on the right hand of the seate of God.

THE AUTHORIZED (KING JAMES) VERSION, 1611.—

Deuteronomy vii.

All the commandments which I command thee this day shall ye observe to do, that ye may live, and multiply, and go in and possess the land which the Lord sware unto your fathers.

And thou shalt remember all the way which the Lord thy God led thee these forty years in the wilderness, to humble thee, and to prove thee, to know what was in thine heart, whether thou wouldest keep his commandments, or no.

And he humbled thee, and suffered thee to hunger, and fed thee with manna, which thou knewest not, neither did thy fathers know; that he might make thee know that man doth not live by bread only, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of the Lord doth man live.

Thy raiment waxed not old upon thee, neither did thy foot swell, these forty years.

Thou shalt also consider in thine heart, that, as a man chasteneth his son, so the Lord thy God chasteneth thee.

Therefore shalt thou keep the commandments of the Lord thy God, to walk in his ways, and to fear him.

For the Lord thy God bringeth thee into a good land, a land of brooks of water, of fountains and depths that spring out of valleys and hills;

A land of wheat, and barley, and vines, and fig trees, and pomegranates; a land of oil olive, and honey;

A land wherein thou shalt eat bread without scarceness, thou shalt not lack anything in it; a land whose stones are iron, and out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass.

When thou hast eaten and art full, then thou shalt bless the Lord thy God for the good land which he hath given thee.

Beware that thou forget not the Lord thy God, in not keeping his commandments, and his judgments, and his statutes, which I command thee this day :

Lest when thou hast eaten and art full, and has built goodly houses, and dwelt therein ;

And when thy herds and thy flocks multiply, and thy silver and thy gold is multiplied, and all that thou hast is multiplied ;

Then thine heart be lifted up, and thou forget the Lord thy God, which brought thee forth out of the land of Egypt, from the house of bondage ;

Who led thee through that great and terrible wilderness, wherein were fiery serpents, and scorpions, and drought, where there was no water ; who brought thee forth water out of the rock of flint ;

Who fed thee in the wilderness with manna, which thy fathers knew not, that he might humble thee, and that he might prove thee, to do thee good at thy latter end ;

And thou say in thine heart, My power and the might of mine hand hath gotten me this wealth.

But thou shalt remember the Lord thy God : for it is he that giveth thee power to get wealth, that he may establish his covenant which he sware unto thy fathers, as it is this day.

And it shall be, if thou do at all forget the Lord thy God, and walk after other gods, and serve them, and worship them, I testify against you this day that ye shall surely perish.

As the nations which the Lord destroyeth before your face, so shall ye perish ; because ye would not be obedient unto the voice of the Lord your God.

REVISED VERSION, 1884.—*Psalm cxliv.*

Blessed be the Lord my rock,
Which teacheth my hands to war,
And my fingers to fight :
My loving kindness, and my fortress,
My high tower, and my deliverer ;
My shield, and he in whom I trust ;
Who subdueth my people under me.
Lord, what is man, that thou takest knowledge of him ?
Or the son of man, that thou makest account of him ?
Man is like to vanity :
His days are as a shadow that passeth away.
Bow thy heavens, O Lord, and come down :

Touch the mountains, and they shall smoke.
 Cast forth lightning, and scatter them ;
 Send out thine arrows, and discomfit them.
 Stretch forth thine hand from above ;
 Rescue me, and deliver me out of great waters,
 Out of the hand of strangers ;
 Whose mouth speaketh vanity,
 And their right hand is a right hand of falsehood.
 I will sing a new song unto thee, O God :
 Upon a psaltery of ten strings will I sing praises unto thee.
 It is he that giveth salvation unto kings :
 Who rescueth David his servant from the hurtful sword.
 Rescue me, and deliver me out of the hand of strangers,
 Whose mouth speaketh vanity,
 And their right hand is a right hand of falsehood.
 When our sons shall be as plants grown up in their youth ;
 And our daughters as corner stones hewn after the fashion of
 a palace ;
 When our garners are full, affording all manner of store ;
 And our sheep bring forth thousands and ten thousands in
 our fields ;
 When our oxen are well laden ;
 When there is no breaking in, and no going forth,
 And no outcry in our streets ;
 Happy is the people, that is in such a case :
 Yea, happy is the people, whose God is the Lord.

THE THIRTEENTH CHAPTER OF I CORINTHIANS IN THE
VARIOUS VERSIONS.

WICLIF, 1380.

If I speke with tungis of men and of aungels, and I haue not
 charite, I am made as bras sownynge or a cymbal tinkynge, and
 if I haue profecie, and knowe alle mysteries, and al kynnynge,
 and if I haue al feith so that I meue hillis fro her place and I
 haue not charite I am nougt, and if I departe alle my godis in to
 metis of pore men, and if I bitake my bodi so that I brenne,
 and I haue not charite it profetith to me no thing, charite is
 patient, it is benyngne,

charite enuyeth not, it doth not wickidli it is not blowun it
 is not coueitous, it sekith not tho thingis that ben his owne, it

is not stired to wraththe, it thenkith not yuel, it ioieth not on wickidnesse, but it ioieth to gidre to truthe, it suffrith alle thingis : it bileueth alle thingis, it hopith alle thingis it susteyneth alle thingis, charite fallith neuer doun, whether profecies schuln be voidid, ether langagis schulen ceese : ether science schal be distried,

for aparti we knowen and aparti we profecien, but whanne that schal come that is perfigt, that thing that is of parti schal be avoidid, whanne I was a litil child I spake as a litil child I vndirstood as a litil child, I thought as a litil child, but whanne I was made a man I voidid tho thingis that weren of a litil child, and we seen now bi a myrrour in derknesse : but thanne face to face, now I knowe of parti, but thanne I schal knowe as I am knowen, and now dwellen feith hope and charitie, these thre : but the moost of thes is charite.

TYNDALE, 1534.

Though I spake with the tonges of men and angels, and yet had no love, I were even as soundinge brasse : or as a tynklynge Cymball. And though I coulde prophesy, and vnderstode all secretes, and all knowledge : yee, yf I had all fayth so that I coulde move mountayns oute of ther places, and yet had no love, I were nothyng. And though I bestowed all my goodes to fede the poore, and though I gave my body even that I burned, and yet had no love, it profeteth me nothyng.

Love suffreth longe, and is corteous. Love envieth not. Love doth not frowardly, swelleth not dealeth not dishonestly, seketh not her awne, is not provoked to anger, thynketh not evyll, reioyseth not in iniquite : but reioyseth in the trueth, suffreth all thyng, beleveth all thynges, hopeth all thynges, endureth in all thynges. Though that prophesying fayle, other tonges shall cease, or knowledge vanysshe awaye, yet love falleth never awaye.

For oure knowledge is vnperfect, and oure prophesyinge is vnperfet. But when that which is perfect is come, then that which is vnperfet shall be done awaye. When I was a chylde, I spake as a chylde, I vnderstode as a childe, I ymagened as a chylde. But assone as I was a man, I put awaye childesshnes. Now we se in a glasse even in a darke speakynge : but then shall we se face to face. Now I knowe vnperfectly : but then shall I knowe even as I am knowen. Now abideth fayth, hope, and love, even these thre : but the chefe of these is love.

GENEVA, 1557.

Thogh I spake with the tonges of men and Angels, and haue not loue, I am euen as sounding brasse, or as a tynkling cymbal. And thogh I could prophecie, and vnderstand all secretes, and all knowledge: yea, yf I had all fayth, so that I could moue mountains out of their places, and yet had not loue, I were nothing. And thogh I bestowe all my goodes *to fede the poore*, and thogh I gyue my body that I be burned, and yet haue not loue, it profiteth me nothing.

Loue suffreth long, is courteous: loue enuieth not: loue doth not boast it selfe, swelleth not, Disdaineth nothing as vnbeseming, seketh not her owne things, is not prouoked to anger, thinketh not euil, Reioyseth not in iniquitie, but reioyseth in the trueth. Suffreth all thinges, beleueth all thinges, hopeth all thinges, endureth all thinges.

Loue doth neuer fall away, thogh that both propheciiinges shalbe abolished, and tongues shal cease, and learning shal vanishe away. For we learne in parte, and we prophecie in part. But when that which is perfect, is come, then that which is in part, shalbe done away.

When I was a chylde, I spake as a childe, I vnderstode as a chylde, I thoght as a childe. But assone as I was a man, I put away chyldesh things. For now we se in a glasse, and in a darcke speakyng: but then *shal we se* face to face. Now I knowe in part: but then shal I know euen as I am known. Now abydeyth fayth, hope, and loue, euen these thre: but the chiefest of these is loue.

RHEIMS, 1582.

If I speake vvith the tonges of men and of Angels, and haue not charitie: I am become as sounding brasse, or a tinkling cymbal. And if I should haue prophecie, and knevv al mysteries, and al knowvledge, and if I should haue al faith so that I could remoue mountaines, and haue not charitie, I am nothing. And if I should distribute al my goods to be meate for the poore, and if I should deliuer my body so that I burne, and haue not charitie, it doth profit me nothing.

Charitie is patient, is benigne: Charitie enuieth not, dealeth not peruersly: is not puffed vp, is not ambitious, seeketh not her ovvne, is not prouoked to anger, thinketh not euil: reioyceth not vpon iniquitie, but reioyceth vvith the truth: suffereth al things, beleeueth al things, hopeth al things, beareth al things.

Charitie neuer falleth avway: vvhether prophecies shal be made voide, or tonges shal cease, or knowvledge shal be destroyed. For in part vve knowv, and in part vve prophecie. But vvhē that shal come that is perfect, that shal be made voide that is in part. Vvhē I vvas a litle one, I spake as a litle one, I vnderstood as a litle one, I thought as a litle one. But vvhē I vvas made a man, I did avway the things that belonged to a litle one. Vve see novv by a glasse in a darke sort: but then face to face. Novv I knowv in part: but then I shal knowv as also I am knowven. And novv there remaine, faith, hope, charitie, these three. but the greater of these is charitie.

AUTHORIZED, 1611.

Though I speake with the tongues of men and of Angels, and haue not charity, I am become as sounding brasse or a tinkling cymbal. And though I haue the gift of prophesie, and vnderstand all mysteries and all knowledge: and though I haue all faith, so that I could remooue mountaines, and haue not charitie, I am nothing. And though I bestowe all my goods to feede the poore, and though I giue my body to bee burned, and haue not charitie, it profiteth me nothing. Charitie suffreth long, and is kinde: charitie enuieth not: charitie vaunteth not it selfe, is not puffed vp, Doeth not behaue it selfe vnseemly, seeketh not her owne, is not easily prouoked, thinketh no euill, Reioyceth not in iniquitie, but reioyceth in the trueth: Beareth all things, beleueth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things.

Charitie neuer faileth: but whether there be prophesies, *they* shall faile; whether there bee tongues, *they* shall cease; whether there bee knowledge, *it* shall vanish away. For we know in part, and we prophesie in part. But when that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part, shalbe done away. When I was a childe, I spake as a childe, I vnderstood as a childe, I thought as a childe: but when I became a man, I put away childish things. For now we see through a glasse, darkely: but then face to face: now I know in part, but then shall I know euen as also I am known. And now abideth faith, hope, charitie, these three, but the greatest of these is charitie.

REVISED, 1884.

If I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, but have not love, I am become sounding brass, or a clanging cymbal.

And if I have the gift of prophecy, and know all mysteries and all knowledge; and if I have all faith, so as to remove mountains, but have not love, I am nothing. And if I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and if I give my body to be burned, but have not love, it profiteth me nothing. Love suffereth long, and is kind; love envieth not; love vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up, doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not its own, is not provoked, taketh not account of evil; rejoiceth not in unrighteousness, but rejoiceth with the truth; beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things. Love never faileth: but whether there be prophecies, they shall be done away; whether there be tongues, they shall cease; whether there be knowledge, it shall be done away. For we know in part, and we prophesy in part: but when that which is perfect is come, that which is in part shall be done away. When I was a child, I spake as a child, I felt as a child, I thought as a child: now that I am become a man, I have put away childish things. For now we see in a mirror, darkly; but then face to face: now I know in part; but then shall I know even as also I have been known. But now abideth faith, hope, love, these three; and the greatest of these is love.

"The popularity of the Bible had been growing fast from the day when Bishop Bonner set up the first six copies in St. Paul's. Even then, we are told, 'many well-disposed people used much to resort to the hearing thereof, especially when they could get any that had an audible voice to read to them.' . . . 'One John Porter used sometimes to be occupied in that goodly exercise, to the edifying of himself as well as others. This Porter was a fresh young man and of a big stature; and great multitudes would resort thither to hear him, because he could read well and had an audible voice.' But the 'goodly exercise' of readers such as Porter was soon superseded by the continued recitation of both Old Testament and New in the public services of the Church; while the small Geneva Bibles carried the Scripture into every home, and wove it into the life of every English family.

"Religion indeed was only one of the causes for this sudden popularity of the Bible. The book was equally important in its bearing on the intellectual development of the people. All the prose literature of England, save the forgotten tracts of Wyclif, has grown up since the translation of the Scriptures by Tyndall and Coverdale. So far as the nation at large was concerned, no history, no romance, hardly any poetry save the little-known verse of Chaucer, existed in the English tongue when the Bible was ordered to be set up in churches. Sunday after Sunday, day after day, the crowds that

gathered round the Bible in the nave of St. Paul's, or the family group that hung on its words in the devotional exercises at home, were leavened with a new literature. Legend and annal, war song and psalm, State-roll and biography, the mighty voices of prophets, the parables of Evangelists, stories of mission journeys, of perils by the sea and among the heathen, philosophic arguments, apocalyptic visions, all were flung broadcast over minds unoccupied for the most part by any rival learning. The disclosure of the stores of Greek literature had wrought the revolution of the Renaissance. The disclosure of the older mass of Hebrew literature wrought the revolution of the Reformation. But the one revolution was far deeper and wider in its effects than the other. No version could transfer to another tongue the peculiar charm of language which gave their value to the authors of Greece and Rome. Classical letters therefore remained in the possession of the learned,—that is, of the few; and among these, with the exception of Colet and More, or of the pedants who revived a Pagan worship in the gardens of the Florentine Academy, their direct influence was purely intellectual. But the language of the Hebrew, the idiom of the Hellenistic Greek, lent themselves with a curious felicity to the purposes of translation. As a mere literary monument, the English version of the Bible remains the noblest example of the English tongue, while its perpetual use made it from the instant of its appearance the standard of our language.

“For the moment, however, its literary effect was less than its social. The power of the book over the mass of Englishmen showed itself in a thousand superficial ways, and in none more conspicuously than in the influence it exerted on ordinary speech. It formed, we must repeat, the whole literature which was practically accessible to ordinary Englishmen; and when we recall the number of common phrases which we owe to great authors, the bits of Shakspeare, or Milton, or Dickens, or Thackeray, which unconsciously interweave themselves in our ordinary talk, we shall better understand the strange mosaic of Biblical words and phrases which colored English talk two hundred years ago. The mass of picturesque allusion and illustration which we borrow from a thousand books our fathers were forced to borrow from one; and the borrowing was the easier and the more natural that the range of the Hebrew literature fitted it for the expression of every phase of feeling. When Spenser poured forth his warmest love-notes in the ‘Epithalamion,’ he adopted the very words of the Psalmist, as he bade the gates open for the entrance of his bride. When Cromwell saw the mists break over the hills of Dunbar, he hailed the sun-burst with the cry of David: ‘Let God arise, and let his enemies be scattered. Like as the smoke vanisheth, so shalt thou drive them away!’ Even to common minds this familiarity with grand poetic imagery in prophet and apocalypse gave a loftiness and ardor of expression that with all its tendency to exaggeration and bombast we may prefer to the slipshod vulgarisms of to-day.

“But far greater than its effect on literature or social phrase was

the effect of the Bible on the character of the people at large. The Bible was as yet the one book which was familiar to every Englishman; and everywhere its words, as they fell on ears which custom had not deadened to their force and beauty, kindled a startling enthusiasm. The whole moral effect which is produced nowadays by the religious newspaper, the tract, the essay, the missionary report, the sermon, was then produced by the Bible alone; and its effect in this way, however dispassionately we examine it, was simply amazing."—*Green's History of the English People*.

The history of the English Bible is a chapter of the highest importance in the history of English religion and liberty, especially important in connection with the particular period of English life and thought in which the forces were shaped which led to the planting of New England and the establishment of the English Commonwealth. The first popular and famous English version was that of Wiclif; but for the beginnings of the history of the English Bible we have to go back to the very beginnings of the English language. Saint Aidan, bishop of Lindisfarne, in the first half of the seventh century, is said to have stimulated the people to read the Scriptures, especially the Psalms, translated into the native tongue. Cædmon, a lay monk of Whitby, in the same century, composed metrical versions of several parts of the Bible from English translations made from the Latin Vulgate. Eadfrith, bishop of Lindisfarne, early in the next century, is said to have translated almost the entire Bible; and the names of the Venerable Bede, King Alfred, and others were associated with similar works of translation. The earliest fragment now extant is a Psalter, partly in prose and partly in verse, translated by Saint Aldhelm, who died in 709. The Lindisfarne Gospels, an English translation by Ealdred, dates from the tenth century; and many versions of the Gospels and the Psalms followed before and after the Norman Conquest, which event resulted in so many and great changes in the language of the people.

In his preface to the authorized version of 1540 Cranmer wrote that the Bible was "translated and read in the Saxons' tongue, which at that time was our mother tongue," many hundred years before his writing, "whereof," he said, "there remaineth yet divers copies, found in old abbeys, of such antique manner of writing and speaking that few men now been able to read and understand them. And when this language waxed old and out of common usage, because folk should not lack the fruit of reading, it was again translated into the newer language, whereof yet also many copies remain, and be daily found." Sir Thomas More also wrote that "the whole Bible was, long before Wiclif's day, by virtuous and well-learned men, translated into the English tongue, and by good and godly people, with devotion and soberness, well and reverently read." But only slight fragments of these translations remain.

Wiclif made his English version of the Gospels in 1360; and he may have translated the Epistles, Acts, and the Apocalypse. Nicolas de Hereford, at one time vice-chancellor of the University of Oxford, translated the greater part of the Old Testament, his translation of the Psalms being evidently based on an earlier version, known as the Hampole Psalter. The remaining books were translated by some unknown hand; and the combination made what is known as the Wiclif Bible of 1384. The greater number of the copies of the Wiclif Bible now extant, however, are in the version

revised by Purvey a few years later. All the translations up to this time were from the Latin Vulgate, and were circulated, of course, in manuscript, this being before the invention of printing. No part of the Bible was printed in English before 1526, no complete Bible before 1535, and none in England before 1538, although the popular "Golden Legend," containing most of the Pentateuch and the Gospel narrative in English, was printed by Caxton in 1493. France, Spain, Italy, and Germany possessed Bibles in the language of the people before any English version was printed. Germany had seventeen editions printed and widely circulated before Luther's translation.

William Tyndale, whose translation of the New Testament was the first which was printed, did his work chiefly abroad, having gone from England to Germany in 1524, and "got him straight to Luther" at Wittenberg. Tyndale translated and adapted Luther's prefaces to the several books of the New Testament, and his translation altogether shows the influence of Luther's version. He was assisted by a Franciscan friar named William Roye, and another companion. The work of printing was begun at Cologne, but was stopped by the authorities. Tyndale and Roye escaped to Worms, where Luther's influence was stronger; and there 3,000 copies of the New Testament were printed, copies arriving in England in 1526. In 1534 Tyndale brought out a revised edition, with certain additions from the Old Testament, this being printed at Antwerp. His translation of the Pentateuch—based upon Purvey—had appeared in 1530. In 1536 he suffered martyrdom.

Miles Coverdale, who is said to have helped Tyndale in translating the Pentateuch, was an Augustinian friar who became bishop of Exeter. He prepared a complete English Bible, which was the first printed. His work of translation was begun as early as 1527, and the book was printed in Antwerp in 1535.

What is known as Matthew's Bible was prepared for the press at Antwerp in 1537 by John Rogers, who was for several years chaplain of an English congregation in Antwerp, and suffered death at Smithfield in the reign of Queen Mary. This was merely a compilation from the translations of Tyndale and Coverdale, revised by Rogers. This edition had a large circulation, as did also the edition edited by Richard Taverner, published in 1539.

In 1530 Henry VIII. appointed a commission, consisting of Sir Thomas More, the two archbishops and other learned scholars, to consider the expediency of an English version which should be issued by authority. Cranmer took a leading part in the translation, which was finally prepared after many objections and delays; and the volume, the printing of which was begun in Paris in 1537, was completed in London in 1539. It was a folio, and was distinguished by the name of "The Great Bible." It is often called Cranmer's Bible; and the Psalms from this version still have place in the Book of Common Prayer.

The Great Bible was so large and costly that it did not have a general, popular circulation. The Bible which now found its way into the homes of the people was what was known as the Geneva Bible, prepared at Geneva by the English refugees during the last year of Queen Mary's reign and the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. This was a revision of the Great Bible. It was begun in 1558, when Coverdale was in Geneva; but, after his return to England the next year, the responsible editors were William Whittingham, Anthony Gilby, and Thomas Sampson. In this edition, which was the popular edition up to the time of the King James version, the chapters were first divided into verses.

In 1568 what is known as the Bishops' Bible was published. This was a revision of the Great Bible of 1539, undertaken by Archbishop Parker, eleven other bishops, and four deans and prebendaries. Several editions were published, but the version was never popular.

What is known as the Douay Bible, the English version approved by the Roman Catholic Church, was published at Douay, in France, in 1609-10; but the translation of the New Testament had already been published at Rheims in 1582. This version was chiefly the work of William Allen, Gregory Martin, and Richard Bristow, three able English scholars who had taken refuge in France. It is based upon the Latin Vulgate.

The present authorized, or King James, version is a revision of the Bishops' Bible, begun in 1604 and published in 1611. It arose out of a conference between the High and Low Church parties held by James I. at Hampton Court, and was originally proposed by Dr. Reynolds, president of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. The king himself sketched the plan. He "wished that some special pains should be taken for one uniform translation, and this to be done by the best learned in both universities; after them to be revised by the bishops and the chief learned of the church; from them to be presented to the Privy Council; and, lastly, to be ratified by the royal authority; and so this whole church to be bound upon it and none other." The revisers, chosen with great wisdom and impartiality, were the greatest English scholars of their time; and their masterly work, embodying what was most excellent in the preceding versions, is likely to remain the classical English Bible for all time. The "Revised Version," prepared in accordance with an act of the convocation of Canterbury in 1870, the work of revision enlisting the services of the best English and American Biblical scholars for the next fourteen years, although making changes of importance, does not seem likely to supersede it in popular use.

The student is referred to the list of the scholars who prepared the King James version, and to the rules which guided them and earlier revisers, in the valuable article on the English Bible in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. There are many special works on the English Bible giving accounts of the various translations. Eadie's "The English Bible" is, perhaps, the most thorough of these. Earlier works were Lewis's "Complete History of the Several Translations of the Bible into English," Archbishop Newcome's "Historical View of the English Biblical Translations," and Archdeacon Cotton's "Editions of the Bible in English." Westcott's "General View of the English Bible" is a scholarly, modern work; Mombert's "English Versions of the Bible" is an excellent handbook, which will serve the purposes of the general reader. A work of the greatest value for the careful student is "The English Hexapla," exhibiting the six important English translations of the New Testament in parallel columns, accompanied by the Greek text and preceded by an historical account of the English translations by Tregelles. There is a fine edition of Wiclif's Bible in four volumes, published at Oxford in 1850, edited by Forshall and Madden, with a valuable historical introduction.

PUBLISHED BY
THE DIRECTORS OF THE OLD SOUTH WORK,
Old South Meeting-house, Boston, Mass.



Letters of Hooper to Bullinger.

I. Hooper, John.

Dated at STRASBURGH, Jan. 27 [probably in 1546].

Not many years since, most honoured master, and much loved brother in Christ, when I was a courtier, and living too much of a court life in the palace of our king, there most happily and auspiciously came under my notice certain writings of master Huldrich Zuinglius, a most excellent man, of pious memory; and also some commentaries upon the epistles of St. Paul, which your reverence had published for the general benefit, and which will prove a lasting monument of your renown.

These singular gifts of God exhibited by you to the world at large, I was unwilling to neglect, especially as I perceived them seriously to affect the eternal salvation and happiness of my soul; so that I thought it well worth my while, night and day, with earnest study, and an almost superstitious diligence, to devote my entire attention to your writings. Nor was my labour in this respect ever wearisome to me; for after I had arrived at manhood, and by the kindness of my father enjoyed the means of living more unrestrainedly, I had begun to blaspheme God by impious worship and all manner of idolatry, following the evil ways of my forefathers, before I rightly understood what God was. But being at length delivered by the goodness of God, for which I am solely indebted to him and to yourselves, nothing now remains for me in reference to the remainder of my life and my last hour, but to worship God with a pure heart, and know my defects while living in this body, since indeed the tenure of life is deceitful, and every man is altogether as nothing; and to serve my godly brethren in Christ, and the ungodly for Christ: for I do not think that a Christian is born for himself, or that he ought to live to him-

self; but that, whatever he has or is, he ought altogether to ascribe, not to himself, but to refer it to God as the author, and regard everything that he possesses as common to all, according as the necessities and wants of his brethren may require. I am indeed ashamed beyond measure that I have not performed these duties heretofore; but that like a brute beast, as the greater part of mankind are wont to do, I have been a slave to my own lusts: but it is better to be wise late than not at all.

By reason of my love and respect towards you, I had often proposed to visit you, though I have always been prevented hitherto, partly by my ill-health and partly because I am mistrustful of the favour of fortune; for my father, of whom I am the only son and heir, is so opposed to me on account of Christ's religion that, should I refuse to act according to his wishes, I shall be sure to find him for the future, not a father, but a cruel tyrant. Shortly, however, in about a month's time, I mean to go down to my native place to bid farewell to the honours, pleasures, and friends of this world; and I will then endeavour, if possible, by the assistance of my friends, to obtain at least some portion of what I am entitled to, where-with I may be able to subsist upon my slender means among you at Zurich: and should God order it otherwise, and see fit to visit me with poverty and want, or in any other way, I will bear it with an undisturbed mind, and choose rather, as an exile, to suffer affliction with the people of God than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season; esteeming the reproach of Christ (I use the words of St. Paul) greater riches than the treasures in Egypt; for I have respect unto the recompence of the reward, and hope for eternal life, obtained, not by my merits, but by the blood of Christ. I entreat you, therefore, O man of God, by our Lord Jesus Christ, that you aid me in this journey by your prayers to God for me. For I am in fear, and not without reason, of those perfidious bishops, to whom nothing is more acceptable than the spilling of the blood of the godly, and whose temper and disposition I have often experienced to the great peril of my life. I desire therefore to defend myself against their treachery and tyranny with the remedies that God has given me; and I seek the aid of your church, that by the help of her prayers I may derive some comfort, according to the promise of God, who is ever present with all who call upon him in truth, and from whom alone assistance is to be sought for in every kind of danger. For there cannot be a more powerful safeguard than believing

prayer: by this Hezekiah overcame the king of the Assyrians, Elijah called down fire from heaven, and Jehoshaphat obtained a signal victory. But I will dilate no longer upon this subject, for fear of offending your pious and learned ears by so rude and unpolished a letter.

Accept, my very dear master, in very few words, the news from England. As far as true religion is concerned, idolatry is nowhere in greater vigour. Our king has destroyed the pope, but not popery. . . . The impious mass, the most shameful celibacy of the clergy, the invocation of saints, auricular confession, superstitious abstinence from meats, and purgatory were never before held by the people in greater esteem than at the present moment.

I have just been informed by letter that the treaty, which was concluded two years since between the emperor and our king, is renewed: may God direct everything to the glory of his name! There is no hope of peace between France and England, but we are in daily expectation of a bloody war.

The chief supporters of the gospel in England are dying every hour: many very illustrious personages have departed within these two years; the lord chancellor Audley, the duke of Suffolk, [Sir Edward] Baynton, the queen's first lord of the bedchamber; Poinings, the king's deputy at Boulogne; Sir Thomas Wyat, known throughout the whole world for his noble qualities, and a most zealous defender of yours and Christ's religion; Dr. Butts, a physician who had the charge of the king's person: all these were of the privy council, and real favourers of the gospel, and promoted the glory of God to the utmost of their power. They all died of the plague and fever; so that the country is now left altogether to the bishops, and those who despise God and all true religion.

The bishops of Winchester and Westminster are now on an embassy from our king to the emperor in Brabant. Another bishop, namely, of Durham, who was sent into Picardy to treat there with the ambassadors of the king of France respecting a peace between the French and English, has lately returned to England without the accomplishment of that object. The state of affairs between the Scots and English is still very doubtful and uncertain: the English, however, have sacked their principal cities and villages; but I shudder to mention the devastation of that country, which was effected last summer by the earl of Hertford. The queen of Scotland, together with the cardinal [Beaton], is lying in concealment in the mountains, where they possess fortresses beyond the reach of attack.

The conference at Ratisbon, as far as I understand by a letter from master Bucer, is suspended: I am more inclined to believe this, because Philip Melancthon is neither yet come to them nor does he intend it. And Bucer, as I hear, is about to come to us sooner than I expected: but as yet we have nothing certain; as soon as this shall be the case, I will inform your reverence forthwith, and you may expect a more copious letter whenever any new tidings shall require it. The count Palatine has lately provided for the preaching of the gospel throughout his dominions: but as far as relates to the eucharist he has descended, as the proverb has it, from the horse to the ass; for he has fallen from popery into the doctrine of Luther, who is in that particular more erroneous than all the papists; and those who deny the substance of bread to remain in the sacrament, and substitute the body of Christ in its place, come more closely to the truth than those who affirm that the natural body of Christ is with the bread, in the bread, and under the form of bread, and yet occupies no place. God I hope will at length give him a better mind.

Master Richard [Hilles] the Englishman, and his godly wife, salute you affectionately in Christ. He has now in his house two sisters of noble family, the younger of whom, named Anna, is exceedingly favourable to true religion. She prays for your continued happiness, and commends herself, whom I hope you will see shortly, to the prayers of your church. Salute affectionately in my name those excellent men masters Bibliander and Pellican, with the other godly brethren. Farewell most learned and godly sir, and suffer me, I pray you, to be numbered amongst those who truly and from the heart admire the majesty of your religion. Strasburgh, Jan. 27, [1546].

Yours entirely,

JOHN HOOPER, *Anglus.*

II.

Dated at [ANTWERP, *April* 26, 1549].

Much health. Grace and innocency of life from the Lord. How mercifully God has hitherto been present with us, and made our journey prosperous, we hope, most honoured friend and gossip, you have learned from the letters written at Dietikon, Basle, Strasburgh, Mayence, and Cologne. That which I wrote from Cologne you will receive by master John Utenhovius, an excellent and worthy man, born of an honour-

able family at Ghent. We earnestly pray you to receive him with kindness. Moreover, should there occur any mention of the holy supper of the Lord, diligently admonish and instruct him upon the subject; you will find no one more tractable, or more ready to learn.

We left Cologne on the 14th of April, and directed our course through the barren and sandy plains of Brabant to Antwerp, where we all of us arrived, by God's blessing, safe and sound, on the 18th of the same month. Compelled by the entreaties of the commissioner of our king, who is now attending upon the emperor, I went over to Brussels with John Stumphius, that he might see the effeminacy and wretchedness of the court, and also the bondage of the good citizens of Brussels, who are now forced to endure the imperiousness of the Spaniards, their depredation and robbery, the violation of their daughters, the corruption of their wives, and lastly threatenings and blows from that most profligate nation; to the end that he might more feelingly consider the state and condition of his own country, pray for it more ardently, and more earnestly warn his countrymen, and by letting them know the misfortunes of others render them more cautious. We did not see the emperor, who very seldom leaves his chamber, nor yet his son, who was keeping Easter in some monastery out of the city. John Stumphius saw the duke of Saxony at a window. I was twice at his house, and very courteously entertained by his German attendants, who are about thirty in number. The duke wished two or three times to admit me to an interview, but the presence of the Spanish general always prevented him. He abides steadfast in the faith, and is in a very good state of health. There is no hope whatever of his deliverance, unless, which will not I trust be the case, he should change his religion: he does not despair of the word of God. The Landgrave of Hesse is in confinement at Oudenarde, seven miles from Ghent: he is a man thoroughly wretched and vacillating; at one time he promises all obedience and fidelity to the emperor, receives the mass and other impious idolatries with open arms; at another time he execrates and abominates the emperor, with his Interim. May the Lord have compassion upon him! he is in a state of great wretchedness, and is now paying the just penalty of his perfidiousness. We saw likewise that traitor Lazarus Schuendi, with whom you are acquainted. There is no need for me to write about Brandenburg and the other Germans who are in bondage to the Spaniards.

The pope's legate has been preaching in his palace during

the whole of Lent, with what impiety I shall not write. This, however, I know for certain, that there is not a friendly feeling between the pope and the emperor, neither between the king of France and the emperor. Both of them are greatly afraid of him, and he, in his turn, is in the greatest fear of the fulminations of the pope. It is now seriously disputed between them whether the general council shall be held at Trent or Bologna. The pope urges, bids, entreats, commands the emperor to consent to Bologna. He resists, refuses, opposes in every possible way, and says that he would rather break off all alliance with the pope than allow of that locality, namely, Bologna. It is easy to conjecture what mischief lies hid in this proposal on the part of the pope. He is in great apprehension for his kingdom; for I am informed by our ambassador that, if the emperor's confessor were but moderately religious, there would be the greatest hope of shortly bringing him into the knowledge of Christ; for he openly told me that both the emperor and all his councillors were guided, persuaded, led and dragged about by their confessor, who acts in every respect at the bidding and advice of the pope. And I easily believe this; for, when the emperor was in upper Germany seven months since, he was deserted by his confessor because he would not act with severity against some godly persons, and restore popery altogether. The emperor offered him a bishoprick in Spain worth twenty thousand crowns per annum. He put a slight upon the liberality of the emperor, and upon the emperor himself in these terms: "I owe myself entirely to the church of Christ, but neither to you nor to your gifts, unless you choose to serve the church more zealously than you have done."

And now as to the emperor's views in regard to Switzerland. All parties agree in this, that he is enviously opposed to your liberty, and will therefore leave no stone unturned to destroy your union. Should he not succeed in this way, he will attempt every thing by promises. Beware therefore, lest he deceive you with vain expectations. Last of all, he will without doubt attack you with an hostile army, not with a view of overcoming you in this way, or exposing many of his troops to danger, but merely to strike terror into you. I pray you therefore to preserve your mutual regard and unanimity: fear God, live holily, fight bravely, and expect the victory from God, who will without doubt stand by and defend you. People think that you are not in imminent danger at present; but still you should always be prepared against a feeling of security, lest he should

overwhelm you when you little think of it. The emperor is hitherto well aware that he cannot manage the affairs of Germany as he desires. He has been more troubled, as I have been informed upon good authority, that he has made any alteration in religion than if he had promised the Germans the utmost liberty in that respect. They say that the emperor will shortly proceed to Ghent, and from thence return to Brussels or go up towards Spire. He has troops stationed near Bremen and the towns upon the coast, but they are inactive; they neither make any progress nor are they much feared by the citizens, who are daily adding to the strength of their cities, and have provisions for five years, and do not any longer court the favour of the emperor. You are, I think, aware of the severity of the exactions the emperor now demands from his subjects: I will relate, however, an affecting and lamentable statement which a godly matron, my landlady, made to me in Brabant. "If," she said, "I could carry in my arms my large and troublesome family of children, I would flee away and obtain my livelihood by begging. For the tax-gatherers of the emperor and the queen exhaust all the fruit of our labours." The English, too, are now sadly oppressed in this respect. A fifth of all property has been granted to the king. But I must tell you one more thing respecting Switzerland. Yesterday, April 25th, I was invited to dinner by a citizen of Antwerp, who is well acquainted with Switzerland from having frequently exposed his goods to sale in all their cities. He told me that since the emperor had left upper Germany he had often seen in his palace the public officers of the canton of Lucerne; for he knew them well by the colour of their dress. It is to be feared that the secret affairs of that country may be revealed by this means, or that some yet greater evil may be latent.

On the first of May there will be fresh rejoicings at Brussels in honour of the prince of Spain. You have, I suppose, heard of the former ones from master John Utenhove; but, as he did not see the new gates and columns erected in the city, you must know that at the first gate there is a column on which is inscribed, "Happy are his subjects!"

*Quis genus Austriadum, quis stirpem Cæsaris altam
Herculei vere generis esse negat?*

On the other side is written,

*Alcidem jactant nugæ et fictitia monstra;
Caroleos ausus fortia gesta probant.*

On the second gate :

Sancta fides merito collaudat vosque patresque,
Auxilio quorum cæpit et aucta fides.

On the other side :

Se ter felicem hoc fausto tempore clamat,
Prole quod Augusta vindice tuta manet.

The third gate bears the representation of Hercules sailing with his pillars, on each of which is placed a statue of a man. The first says, "go," the other, "come." The verses are these,

Adsit Caroleo cœlestis palma labori,
Et maneat soli gloria prima Deo.

Also,

Fida laccessiti cunctatio restituit rem,
Christicolamque fidem provehat ulterius.

At Antwerp there is represented an eagle with expanded wings, beneath whose feet is written this impious application of scripture, "Protect us under the shadow of thy wings."

On the first of May, at the rejoicings at Brussels, the prince of Spain, and the son of the duke d'Arschot, a native of Brabant, engaged with spears on horseback. Whether by chance or carelessness I know not, but the prince's helmet was badly fastened on, and could not withstand the force of the lance of d'Arschot's son; so that the prince was twice wounded in the face, once in the chin, the second time in the forehead, but the wounds are not dangerous. The emperor, however, in alarm, put off the tournament till the following week.

I hear that east Friesland has received the Interim. If this be the case, master à Lasco will soon return into England. I greatly regret his absence, especially as Peter Martyr and Bernardine so stoutly defend Lutheranism, and there is now arrived a third (I mean Bucer), who will leave no stone unturned to obtain a footing. The people of England, as I hear, all of them entertain right notions upon that subject. Should not master à Lasco come to us in a short time, I will send him your letter with the writing. But, if it please God, I could wish to meet the parties in person. We have remained here a fortnight for the sake of passing over from hence into England more conveniently, with a well-informed and skilful English captain who is staying here, and waiting for a cargo. But I am afraid lest the wind should turn against us, in which case we shall lose both our time and money.

[JOHN HOOPER.]

III.

Dated at LONDON, *Dec.* 27, 1549.

That you so seldom receive any letter from me, my very reverend master and gossip, I pray you to ascribe to the calamity of our time, and the alteration in my circumstances, rather than to any forgetfulness of your signal courtesy and kindness, which both reason and affection entirely forbid on my part.

We were in much alarm, and very great fear possessed the minds of the godly, as to the success that the religion of Christ just now budding forth in England would meet with upon the fall of the duke of Somerset, who is still confined in the Tower of London. We have as yet no certain information as to what will become of him. We hope that his life will be spared. May God grant this for the glory of his name, and the benefit of his church! although we see many dangers hanging over him, yet we hope and expect a favorable issue. We easily indeed give credit to what we wish.

No change in religion has taken place among us, and we hope that no alteration will be made hereafter. Although our vessel is dangerously tossed about on all sides, yet God in his providence holds the helm, and raises up more favourers of his word in his majesty's councils, who with activity and courage defend the cause of Christ. The archbishop of Canterbury entertains right views as to the nature of Christ's presence in the supper, and is now very friendly towards myself. He has some articles of religion, to which all preachers and lecturers in divinity are required to subscribe, or else a licence for teaching is not granted them; and in these his sentiments respecting the eucharist are pure and religious, and similar to yours in Switzerland. We desire nothing more for him than a firm and manly spirit. Like all the other bishops in this country, he is too fearful about what may happen to him. There are here six or seven bishops who comprehend the doctrine of Christ as far as relates to the Lord's supper, with as much clearness and piety as one could desire; and it is only the fear for their property that prevents them from reforming their churches according to the rule of God's word. The altars are here in many churches changed into tables. The public celebration of the Lord's supper is very far from the order and institution of our Lord. Although it is administered in both kinds, yet in some places the supper is celebrated three times a day. Where they used heretofore to celebrate in the morning the *mass* of

the apostles, they now have the *communion* of the apostles; where they had the *mass* of the blessed virgin, they now have the communion which they call the *communion* of the virgin; where they had the principal, or high mass, they now have, as they call it, the high communion. They still retain their vestments and the candles before the altars; in the churches they always chant the *hours* and other hymns relating to the Lord's supper, but in our own language. And that popery may not be lost, the mass-priests, although they are compelled to discontinue the use of the Latin language, yet most carefully observe the same tone and manner of chanting to which they were heretofore accustomed in the papacy. God knows to what perils and anxieties we are exposed by reason of men of this kind.

You will apologize for me to master Mayor, and also to master Butler, respecting the pieces of cloth. Three months have elapsed since I sent them off, but they are detained at Antwerp; they will shortly, however, be delivered to you, God willing, and possibly before the receipt of this letter. I have just come from my lecture; I pray you therefore to interpret with kindness the shortness of my letter. I am obliged to lecture in public twice a day both to-morrow and the day following. May it be for the glory of God! I shall finish the sixth chapter of John, and have proceeded thus far upon that evangelist. For my other lecture I expound Daniel, as affording a subject well-suited to our times; and I am now engaged in considering the third beast in the seventh chapter, towards the elucidation of which subject your remarks and annotations upon Daniel have contributed no small assistance.

I pray you, most reverend sir, by your great regard for me, to take care that all your annotations, especially those on Isaiah, be copied out with all speed, and sent to me with the greatest care. I will pay every expense: you know not how wonderfully they promote the glory of God. If I am able to effect anything, and my slender powers are of any benefit to the church of Christ, I confess, and by the blessing of God will confess, as long as I live, that I owe it to yourself and my masters and brethren at Zurich; whom I pray the Lord ever to preserve in safety for his name's sake. Moreover, if you have any thing which you purpose soon to send to the press, you should dedicate it to our most excellent sovereign, king Edward the sixth. On this subject I wish you would advise those learned men, namely, master Bibliander, our co-sponsor, and master Gualter. If you will comply with my wishes in this

respect, you will advance the glory of God in no small degree. Believe me, all the English, who are free from popish tyranny and Romish craftiness, entertain correct views respecting the [Lord's] supper.

There are various other reasons which induce me to make this request to you; but I cannot at present state them by reason of the danger of the journey. Be alive, fight with that old serpent. Behold, your reward is great in heaven.

Salute masters Bibliander, Gualter, Pellican, with their wives, my most faithful master Butler with his wife, and all my other Zurich friends so much esteemed by me. Tell my excellent friend, master Gessner, that there is on the road for him a Welsh dictionary, and some writings in the language of Cornubia, commonly called Cornwall.

Yours now and for evermore,

JOHN HOOPER.

P.S. My wife and your little god-daughter, Rachel, together with Martin and Joanna, salute your excellence with the good lady our gossip, your wife, and master Bibliander with his wife, our very dear gossips, and all the rest.

Rachel is endued with a most happy memory, and retains with the greatest facility every thing that is said to her, and of all other languages she best understands the Latin.

IV.

Dated at LONDON, *March 27, 1550.*

Grace and innocence of life from the Lord! That I may in some measure extenuate, if I cannot entirely excuse, my blameable neglect of correspondence (touching which, my much esteemed master and most loving gossip, you so deservedly and severely expostulated with me in your last letter), this is the third letter that I have taken care should be sent you by the post since the end of January. I hope that you have received the others, and that you will receive this with all possible speed. I have already informed your excellence both as to my individual circumstances, and the news of this kingdom; but lest my letters should have been lost on the road, as has very often happened heretofore on both sides through the carelessness, or rather the dishonesty, of the courier, I think it worth my while to repeat the leading particulars in a few words.

Concerning me and mine, with whom you are acquainted, I wrote that we are all of us in good health. My wife, however, is weak and valetudinarian as usual, but, by the blessing of God, in no danger of her life. Rachel, by the mercy of God, is in the enjoyment of excellent health: she grows both in stature and in talent, and holds out the best promise of a most happy memory. She understands no language so well as she does Latin. I have not yet visited my native place; being prevented, partly by the danger of the rebellion and tumult in those quarters, and partly by the command of the king that I should advance the kingdom of Christ here at London: nor indeed am I yet able to stir even a single mile from the city without a numerous attendance. I comfort myself, however, in this, that the employment on which I had entered under [un]promising and difficult auspices is blessed by God every day more and more; and he has given a sufficiently large and glorious increase to the seed sown by Peter and Paul. We do not water and plant in vain. May the name of the Lord be for ever blessed! But there has lately been appointed a new bishop of London, a pious and learned man, if only his new dignity do not change his conduct. He will, I hope, destroy the altars of Baal, as he did heretofore in his church when he was bishop of Rochester. I can scarcely express to you, my very dear friend, under what difficulties and dangers we are labouring and struggling, that the idol of the mass may be thrown out. It is no small hindrance to our exertions, that the form which our senate or parliament, as we commonly call it, has prescribed for the whole realm, is so very defective and of doubtful construction, and in some respects indeed manifestly impious. I sent it to our friend, master Butler, about four months since. I am so much offended with that book, and that not without abundant reason, that if it be not corrected, I neither can nor will communicate with the church in the administration of the [Lord's] supper. Many altars have been destroyed in this city since I arrived here. I commenced with the epistle to Titus, having finished which I lectured on the gospel of St. John, and am now engaged upon the eighth chapter. I freely held forth upon the sixth chapter to my audience, as God enabled me, respecting the Lord's supper, for the space of three months, and lectured once or twice every day; and it pleased God to bless my exertions. A wonderful and most numerous concourse of people attended me, and God was with them; for he opened their hearts to understand the things that were spoken by me. But I incurred

great odium and not less danger from the sixth chapter. The better cause, however, prevails; and during this Lent I have plainly and openly handled the same subject before the king and the nobility of the realm. In this city an individual of the name of Crome, a man of excellent erudition and holiness of life, a doctor in divinity, and well known to master Butler, is combating my opinions in a public discourse.

The bishop of Westchester will preach on the sixth Sunday before Easter, and will deliver his sentiments upon the [Lord's] supper, the invocation of the saints, and the authority of the scriptures. God grant that he may teach the truth! We all piously agreed in the same opinion respecting all the articles, in the presence of the king, this Lent; I will let you know the result immediately after Easter.

The bishops of Winchester, London, and Worcester are still in confinement, and maintain the popish doctrines with all their might. The bishop of Winchester, who is a prisoner in the Tower of London, came forward and challenged me to a disputation about a month since: he doubtless assured himself of a glorious victory; should he fail in obtaining which, he would submit himself to the laws and to the king for punishment. The keeper of the prison had at first accepted the conditions. The day was fixed. But when the bishop knew for certain that I would not shrink from that duty, but that I would firmly maintain the best of causes even at the peril of my life, he changed his mind, and said that, if the king would set him at liberty, he would take his part in a disputation, in full reliance on the help of God that he should obtain the victory. What will at length be done I know not. Meantime let us pray that God may be present with us, and that we may fearlessly advance his glory.

A book has lately been published here by the bishops, touching the ordination and consecration of the bishops and ministers of the church. I have sent it to master Butler, that you may know their fraud and artifices, by which they promote the kingdom of antichrist, especially in the form of the oath; against which form I brought forward many objections in my public lecture before the king and the nobility of the realm: on which account I have incurred no small hostility. On the fourth day after the lecture an accusation was brought against me before the council by the archbishop of Canterbury. I appeared before them. The archbishop spoke against me with great severity on account of my having censured the form of the oath. I entreated the judges to hear with impartiality

upon what authority I had done so. The question was long and sharply agitated between the bishops and myself; but at length the end and issue was for the glory of God.

If the ensuing summer should be free from disturbances, we hope for much good to our church; for peace is arranged between us and the French, but I am not yet informed upon what terms. I only pray our great and gracious God, that war may not lie hid under the name of peace. The day before I wrote this letter to your excellence, the emperor sent two most beautiful Spanish horses as a present to our king. On the same day a German Lutheran sent to [Sir John] Cheke, the king's tutor, a book which has lately come forth against the anabaptists and sacramentaries: he gave the book to the king to read, but it nowise pleased either the king, or his tutors, namely, Cook and Cheke, both of whom, as well as the king, have a pious understanding of the doctrine of the eucharist. Master Bucer is now lying dangerously ill at Cambridge. The subject of his lecture is the epistle to the Ephesians, and of his sermon, on holy-days, the sixth chapter of St. John. Master Valerandus has recommended him by letter not to raise any controversy on the matter of the eucharist. He replied that he should teach nothing contrary to the opinion of Peter Martyr, which I sent you in manuscript about the middle of January.

Touching the *Interim*, (you know what I mean) I have not hitherto been able by any entreaties to obtain permission for committing it to the press; but I shall probably in a few days meet the king upon business, and I will give it him for his perusal. Believe me, my much esteemed friend, you have never seen in the world for these thousand years so much erudition united with piety and sweetness of disposition. Should he live and grow up with these virtues, he will be a terror to all the sovereigns of the earth. He receives with his own hand a copy of every sermon that he hears, and most diligently requires an account of them after dinner from those who study with him. Many of the boys and youths who are his companions in study are well and faithfully instructed in the fear of God, and in good learning. Master Cox is no longer the king's tutor. He still remains almoner, is much attached to you, and (as I have often told you before) most warmly thanked you for your present. You know how it was received by the archbishop of Canterbury. Now, however, as far as I know, he has become my friend. The marquis of Dorset sends his best regards to your reverence. I could wish that you would dedicate either

to the king or to him the work you are shortly about to publish. Moreover, if our excellent and most learned friend, master Bibliander, or that learned and most faithful minister of Christ, master Gualter, are about to publish any thing let them also dedicate it either to the king, or to the duke of Somerset, the king's uncle, my patron (who is now living at Sion, eight miles from London, and in good health, but not at present one of the king's council, though I doubt not but that he will be shortly), or to the marquis of Dorset, or to that most faithful and intrepid soldier of Christ, the earl of Warwick. He is ill at this time, but I hope in no imminent danger: unless he had been on my side in the cause of Christ, it would have been all over with me five months since, when the duke of Somerset was in such difficulties. Traheron is well; I think you have received a letter from him not long since. Your dictations on Isaiah, which you gave in charge to Christopher Hales, have not been delivered to me. I must make allowance for the misfortune of the man; for, when he was sailing from Calais to England, he was in so much danger from the French, that they threw all the ship's cargo overboard. I entreat you to have a new copy made with all speed, not only of [your notes] on Isaiah, but also of those upon the books of Kings; and I will satisfy both by prayers and payment the labours of the copyist. Do not send me anything for the cloth, which I hear you have received; but, as you love me, pay for what I am now asking from you out of the price of the cloth, and also for what I may request from you in future, until you shall hear further from me. But I wish to inform you upon this point, that, when you write to me in future, you may inclose your letter to me either in the letters of Richard Hilles or John Stumphius, or else they will scarcely ever come to my hands; such is the envy and hatred of some parties that, if they see a letter addressed to me, they will retain it. Unless therefore you should meet with a trustworthy courier, it will be necessary to suppress what otherwise ought not to be concealed. Such is now-a-days the perverseness of men's temper that they can interpret nothing with an upright and unprejudiced mind. Let me know how many letters you have received from me since the first of January. I do not ask this, as though there would arise any danger either to your reverence or myself from the loss of the letters. I value it not a rush, into whosoever hands they may have fallen; but I wish to know, that I may learn to estimate the trustiness of the bearer in future. If you would sometime, as is befitting your erudition and piety, send

a letter of encouragement to our king, take care to do so as soon as possible, and also to the earl of Warwick and the marquis of Dorset: believe me, they would receive it most gratefully; send it to me, and I will place it in their hands with all fidelity.

The worshipful the Mayor will soon, I hope, receive another good piece of cloth at the usual price, namely, ten Zurich batzen the ell. Master Butler will also receive one, partly white and partly black. We thank you very much for the present which you sent to your [god-daughter] Rachel. In return, I faithfully promise you in Christ that, as long as I live, your children shall be to me as my own, if I can in any respect be of use to them. John Stumphius is residing very creditably and studiously at Oxford. You may, if you please, in your letters apply a stimulus by way of exciting him to persevere honourably in what he has undertaken. Should he be in need of any thing, I shall always be ready to assist him. There is no occasion for his parents to be anxious about him in any way. Salute them in my name and in that of my wife. John Stumphius is a great favourite with her. John ab Ulmis is also well, and, as I hear, very diligent in his studies. He has been munificently and honourably presented, by the marquis of Dorset, with a yearly stipend of thirty crowns. Salute most dutifully in all our names the lady your wife with all your family, and masters Bibliander, Gualter, Pellican, Otto, Frisius, and Sebastian, with their respective wives. Martin Micronius wishes dutifully to salute your excellence and all his other friends at Zurich. I heartily salute master Haller, the most faithful minister of the church at Berne, and master Musculus. When you write to master Ambrose Blauer, and master Thomas his brother, salute each of them in my name. May the Lord Jesus preserve your church and commonwealth, that you may live in peace, fear, and holiness all the days of your life! Day and night do I remember you in my prayers, that God may guide, strengthen, and defend you by his holy Spirit against the snares of the devil and of the world. Do you also remember me and my labours in the Lord's vineyard: by the help of your prayers I shall raise a more glorious trophy in the church of God over our adversaries. With the exception of the church of Zurich, and those which agree with it in religion, the word is in no part of the world preached more purely than in England.

Write back, I pray you, immediately, if only one or two lines; for, until I hear from you, I shall think that this letter also has been lost on the road. If you will always ask master

Burcher to send your letters by the post, I will pay the expense. I desire to salute master Mayor, who is a man of God, most dutifully and affectionately in the bowels of Jesus Christ.

A certain native of Zurich, by name Valentine Wormulus, is detained here in prison: he is, if I mistake not, related to master Otho, the minister of the church at Zurich. I do not yet know for certain the cause of his imprisonment: . . . I shall send to-day to the prison, that I may learn more by means of master Utenhovius. I wish you would shortly let me know whether he is a native of Zurich or not. If the law can be satisfied by a pecuniary penalty, I will willingly pay it, as soon as your reverence shall authorize me to do so, provided the money be repaid me at Zurich. Farewell, most honoured master, and continue to love me. London, March 27, 1550.

On Wednesday next, God willing, I shall finish my exposition of the prophet Jonas before the king.

Yours ever,

JOHN HOOPER.

P.S. Master Utenhovius dutifully salutes your worship, and doubtless aids you all in his diligent prayers to God. You would be quite astonished, did you know how many times he has thanked me for having sent him to Zurich. There is one request I have to make of you, my most faithful friend, that, when you have read this, you will write to master Cœlius the younger, who resides at Basle, and apologize to him for my not writing to him at present. I wrote some time since, and gave him intelligence respecting all the things that he had entrusted to my confidence; nor have I ever been unmindful of him, as he will know from me next Easter. I have exerted myself in his favour, as you shall hereafter know. Entreat him to persevere in his purpose, and not to be afraid. God liveth, from whom he will successfully obtain what he desires. Salute the widow, my landlady, in my name; and, should she be in need of any thing, I shall not be unmindful of the kindness with which she treated me during my sojourn with you.

V.

Dated at LONDON, *June* 29, 1550.

. . . At Easter, after the sermons were ended which master Ponet and myself preached before the king and council, he on the Friday, and I on the Wednesday, during Lent, it pleased

his majesty and the council to offer the bishoprick of Rochester to Ponet, and that of Gloucester to myself. On many accounts I declined mine, both by reason of the shameful and impious form of the oath, which all who choose to undertake the function of a bishop are compelled to put up with, and also on account of those Aaronic habits which they still retain in that calling, and are used to wear, not only at the administration of the sacraments, but also at public prayers. All these things came to the ears of the king, and he wished to know the reason of my having refused to serve God in so pious and holy a calling. He understood that the causes which I have mentioned above altogether withdrew me from it. On last Ascension-day I was summoned before the whole council to state my reasons, that it might be seen whether I could justly and lawfully decline the royal favour. The matter was seriously agitated in the way of interrogatory. At last, for the glory of God, the discussion ended to the satisfaction of myself and that of all godly persons, not through my instrumentality alone, but by the grace of God, and the favourable inclinations of the council, and their love for God and for the purity and comeliness of the rising church. But you will say, I do not yet know the result. It was such as to set me clear from all defilement of superstition and from the imposition of the oath. On these terms I took upon myself the charge committed to me. Aid wretched me with your prayers, that I may diligently and truly seek the glory of God, lest that little flock should perish, for which Christ died. . . .

VI.

Dated from prison, *Sept.* 3, 1553.

Greeting. You have been accustomed, my very dear gossip, heavily to complain of me, and very properly, for having so seldom written to you. But I have now written you many letters during the past year, without having received a single one in reply. I know that you are not unacquainted with the state of our kingdom. Our king has been removed from us by reason of our sins, to the very great peril of our church. His sister Mary has succeeded, whom I pray God always to aid by his Holy Spirit, that she may reign and govern in all respects to the glory of his name. The altars are again set up throughout the kingdom; private masses are frequently celebrated in many quarters; the true worship of God, true invocation, the right use of the sacraments, are all done away with; divine

things are trodden under foot, and human things have the pre-eminence. May God be present with his church, for the sake of his only Son Jesus Christ! All godly preachers are placed in the greatest danger: those who have not yet known by experience the filthiness of a prison, are hourly looking for it. Meanwhile they are all of them forbidden to preach by public authority. The enemies of the gospel are appointed in their places, and proclaim to the people from the pulpit human doctrines instead of divine truths. We now place our confidence in God alone, and earnestly entreat him to comfort and strengthen us to endure any sufferings whatever for the glory of his name. In haste, from prison, at London. Sept. 3, 1553.

Yours wholly,

JOHN HOOPER,
Bishop of Worcester and Gloucester.

VII.

... I entreat you to comfort occasionally by your letters that most exemplary and godly woman, my wife, and exhort her to bring up our children carefully, Rachel, your little god-daughter, an exceedingly well-disposed girl, and my son Daniel, and piously to educate them in the knowledge and fear of God. I moreover send your reverence two little books for your perusal, consideration, and correction, if they contain any thing not agreeable to the word of God. I have entitled the one *An Hyperaspismus touching the true doctrine and use of the Lord's Supper*; and I have dedicated it to the parliament of England, that we may publicly reply to our adversaries in the court of parliament. The title of the other is *A tractate upon discerning and avoiding false religion*. And I beg that you will cause them to be printed as soon as possible. Both the books are approved by all the godly and learned in this country. I have moreover written many other letters to the bishops, that they should bring forward the books in parliament; and I wish these also to be printed, that all may perceive how unfairly and unjustly we are dealt with. But I need not write to you at length upon this subject; you will understand my wishes from the books and letters themselves. And if your friend Froschover should be prevented from printing them by more important engagements, I wish he would send them to Basle to master Oporinus, who prints very correctly, and sends out all his publications in a superior manner. I know he will do this, if only

the books are sent to him with a recommendation from you, and which I earnestly entreat you to supply. There is no occasion for you to fear for me, as though the enemies of the gospel would rage more fiercely and with greater cruelty on account of these books. I have a most faithful guardian and defender of my salvation in our heavenly Father through Jesus Christ, to whom I have wholly committed myself. To his faithfulness and protection I commend myself: if he shall prolong my days, may he cause it to be for the glory of his name; but if he wills that my short and evil life should be ended, I can say with equal complacency, His will be done! I am writing by stealth, and therefore my letter to your excellence is shorter and more confused [than I could wish]; take it, I pray you, in good part. In haste, from prison, Dec. 11, 1554.

Salute for me dutifully your excellent wife and all your family at home and elsewhere; and all others, as you know.

Your excellence's most affectionate,

as I ought to be,

JOHN HOOPER.

John Hooper, "the First Puritan," was born in Somerset about 1495, and suffered martyrdom at Gloucester, Feb. 9, 1554, at the very beginning of Mary's reign. After his studies at Oxford, he became a Cistercian monk at Gloucester. Going to London, he became deeply influenced by the writings of Zwingli and Bullinger, and, fleeing from persecution in England, spent two years with Bullinger at Zürich, being the first leading Englishman of the long line of those who, during the stormy times of the next half-century, found refuge in Switzerland or on the Rhine, and came under the influence of Calvin. Returning to England after the accession of Edward VI., he became the leader of the advanced section of the Protestant party, engaging in many controversies with Cranmer and others. He was consecrated bishop of Gloucester in 1551. He was an intimate correspondent of Bullinger's for many years; and his letters, and those of his wife, included in the "Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation," published by the Parker Society, throw valuable light upon the history of the times. Two volumes of his "Writings" have been published, dealing with theological subjects and accompanied by biographical matter. A complete list of his writings may be found in the article upon him in the "Dictionary of National Biography." There is a full biography in Fox's "Book of Martyrs"; and this is republished with valuable notes in Wordsworth's "Ecclesiastical Biography," vol. ii. See popular biography in Kyle's "Bishops and Clergy of Other Days," and the striking chapter in Hopkins's "The Puritans," vol. i.

PUBLISHED BY

THE DIRECTORS OF THE OLD SOUTH WORK,
Old South Meeting-house, Boston, Mass.



Sir John Eliot's "Apologie for Socrates."

Eliot, Sir John

An recte fecerit Socrates, quod accusatus non responderit.

I stand now here, most excellent Athenians, as a rare character and example both of your piety and justice: of your justice, in these times, that truth may have admission to the public ear and view, to the tribunal of your judgments; of your piety, that an apology may be heard for Socrates, now dead, why, living, he neglected it; that you will yet receive for his memory a defence why he defended not his innocence, and grant that unmatched integrity of his, his integrity and fidelity to youwards, a vindication from their enemies, an expiation from their slanders, those scandalous aspersions whereby Socrates and his duty have been stained; and this to be done by me, the weakest of all others, yet so far acceptable as it is done for him; and that in this manner, in this sacred assembly, the people so seldom celebrate and convented. It is a rare example of your piety; and as to me and honor in the fruition of this presence, so even to Socrates, though dead, a happiness and favor and an admiration unto all men. I know not whether your obligation in a just counterpoise and weight will be greater upon Socrates or me: on Socrates, that his memory is yet so precious in your eyes that through all these mists and clouds which have obscured it you have still a view and prospect on that object; on me, that I should be thought worthy to speak before your excellencies, to speak in the cause of Socrates. Pardon me, Socrates, this high and great presumption to undertake this work, which is only fit for Hercules; to put my shoulder to that burden, that sacred burden, of thy virtues, which none but Atlas can support; nothing but his wisdom, *qui et cœlestium et subterranearum rerum habet cognitionem*, as the ancients feigned that giant. Pardon me, Socrates, this tran-

scendent boldness, to tender my endeavors to that labor. Pardon me, you Athenians, that thus far I intrude (though by your leaves) upon your ears and patience. All my hope is that, in the cause of Socrates, his genius will assist me; that, to defend the innocence of Socrates, Socrates' eloquence will attend me; that, in the apology of his action, I shall have the secret influence of his judgment; and that I know would give you satisfaction, of which some hope I have, and without which I should utterly despair. Yet this I must petition from your candor, that your expectation be the least, that my weakness may be the object of that faculty, not that wonder of ability in Socrates; that so Socrates may be without prejudice in his virtues, if the streams be not answerable to that fountain; and, if there flow what may relish of that spring, what that pure spirit of Socrates may suggest, that it may seem the more precious in your judgments, the more acceptable being unlooked for.

I know the great difficulty of this work, this apology for Socrates, and the strong opposition it will have; that in this, that Socrates did not answer the accusation made against him, there are many enemies supposed. First, a defection from the law in declining of her process. Next, a contempt of justice, in not submitting to authority where a rule and judgment did command it. Then a desertion of his innocence, in exposing that to scandal, which yet no good man will support. And, last, a betraying of your liberties, that inestimable jewel of your rights involved in the cause of Socrates; that Socrates by his silence became a traitor to his country, a traitor unto you, a traitor to himself. All these crimes are charged upon this one act of Socrates, or rather this neglect, that Socrates did not answer, wherein the detraction of his enemies, the malice of his accusers, the cunning of the informers, the corruption of the judges: *inelitus litem qui intendit, Anytus qui detulit, Lyco qui proposuit*, and the rest, do all concur in this, to deprave this work of Socrates, to heighten it to these crimes, to make him guilty of offence, whose offence was only not to have [been] guilty, and by the condemnation of his virtue to raise a justification for their vice.

To encounter all these powers, I know, is a work of difficulty,—to answer all these crimes, to give satisfaction in these charges; for their number, for their weight, requires no little labor. To vindicate the honor and reputation of Socrates, in this danger and necessity it is in, is a task even fit for Socrates, his eloquence and wisdom, were he living, and his spirit only and genius, now he's dead. One word of Socrates would suf-

fice it, one sound and articulation of his voice, those few syllables, *his innocence* having the grace of that expression which his tongue would give them, that mellifluous tongue of his. That one word, passing through his lips, would answer all objections, his defence were full in that. Though the ears of all men were sealed up, and an obstruction in their hearing, yet the air would regulate the motion of that sound to the figures of his truth. It would be there read written in the air; and, though men's affections did refuse it, the air would there retain it to the view and wonder of posterity. But Socrates being dead, that word has lost his virtue, to which the reality gives power. The innocence of Socrates, having influence on the word, would have made it so prevalent and effective; but now that perfection being wanting, there being no parallel of that virtue, the syllables want their harmony, they strike not that affection in the hearers by the concord and diapason of their speech, and therefore larger arguments must be used, by particulars to prove it, by particular answers to the particular objections that are made, by particular defences to each particular charge, and so from a special apology in dark crime to imply his justification in the general. This method I shall follow, wherein I must crave your favors to accompany me, your attentions to observe the tract and level of my reason, your patience to afford me time and liberty in this subject, your wisdoms, most excellent Athenians, to supply the defect of my expression, where my mouth shall prove (as in this case I fear it much) too narrow for my heart, and your pardon for those errors I commit, which my weakness, my ignorance, want of memory and confidence, will in part extenuate and excuse. The glory of this presence, this rare concourse and assembly of the people, being an object so excellent that with a ravishing delight it captivates my sense, and instead of intention on my work takes me wholly in wonder and admiration. But, to prepare and facilitate the way in this great journey and adventure to which your favors do encourage me, I must pray you to look back, to reflect a little, on the course and proceedings first with Socrates: —

The first state and merit of his cause which will give an illustration to the rest. Something may thence arise for the matter of apology, which I know your piety will not bar me; or, if to me, yet you will not to Socrates deny it. His virtue shall not be precluded of that help which is the common rule of justice in all cases, to give a free scope and liberty of argument, to admit all circumstance of use. Much more, then, may I pre-

sume it at your hands, who are most just,—yea, like justice in the abstract,—and in this case for Socrates, whose example you held so precious whilst he lived, and now his memory, being dead. Socrates was accused to have spoken divers things in Senate, divers things by way of grievance and complaint; some things against Melitus, who after was his judge; some things against Anytus, who had the prosecution of his cause; some things against Lyco, the informer, from whom the delation did proceed, and others of that leaven; but all shrouding under the canopy of the State, all casting themselves within the protection of that buckler, and their fighting with our Hector, as Troilus under Ajax; what for disquisition he propounded against them, turning it to sedition in the government; entitling the government to all their enormities and exorbitance, and translating the complaints against themselves to the slander of the government. For this Socrates was accused; and thus his charge was laid, thus to have spoken against you, but with reflection on the State, with intention to have wounded the head in those ill members, through their sides to have made a penetration to the heart, and this in public Senate, in that sacred sanctuary of your liberties, where justice is so religiously professed that no fault escapes unpunished. In this Socrates displead the privilege of the Senate: that no lesser court had jurisdiction in that cause; that from all antiquity there had been a constant possession of that right, without any violation or impeachment. Divers reasons and authorities he produced for the clearing of that interest: that though all things had been true, as they were given in the suggestion, and Socrates had been faulty (which no man can suspect), though to the outward substance of his actions that inward form and sinister intention had been added, yet he was nowhere punishable, nowhere questionable, but in that court, by that judgment of the Senate, the sentence of that place, where no delinquent could enjoy impunity so long to be elsewhere obnoxious to a question. For confirmation of that privilege four sorts of authorities were used, all pregnant in the point, all binding upon Socrates. First, the claims and challenges of Senate, laying it as a ground and position of their birthright. Next, the resolutions of the judges, the ordinary judges of the law, such as Melitus and the like, consenting and approving of that right. Then the allowance and concession of all princes who still do acknowledge and confirm it. Then laws and statutes in the point, tying both Socrates and others to the strict observance of that interest. And, lastly, a precedent and example to demonstrate

it. To which add the reasons, for Socrates his safety and integrity, that, however, *in foro judicii* he were free, yet *in foro conscientie* he was bound. That the great judgment of Socrates did oblige him to insist upon this privilege, to preserve this public right, telling him still in private, in the cabinet of his heart, that it was the due of Senators, and by submission to the contrary he should be conscious of their prejudice, he should be guilty of the violation of that privilege, of the violation of his duty, though others had otherwise determined it, and that in future he should stand obnoxious to the Senate for that act of prejudice and violation, and so by declining the danger of that time which might have reparation in another incur the censure of another which could have reparation in no time.

But to make this more perspicuous, clearly to state the case, I shall crave leave to instance some particulars ; for, by the grounds and inducements then in Socrates, we shall best judge the scope of his intentions. By the intention chiefly shall we come to the true knowledge of his acts, which may be worthy of praise or condemnation according to the spirit that did guide them. For the claims and challenges of the Senate, they are numberless and many, and the concessions as frequent by the princes, repeated in all ages, at the initiation of all meetings, where the petition is still made (not of grace, but right) for that immunity in particular, that, if in that Senate any did offend, they should be only punished in that place, that no arrest should be or impeachment of their persons for matters and agitations in that sphere (much less a judgment and question for their lives), which, as the proper right of Senators, the common right of Athens, the ancient birthright and inheritance of your fathers, those famous fathers and founders of your greatness, most prudent and most excellent Athenians, has been still granted and allowed ; so as that number or order may afford what time and approbation may create in the opinion of this privilege, Socrates had it here in these claims and recognitions, to which almost all places and all persons might attest. But, if use and custom, which is in other things equivalent to law and creates a right, be not in this case sufficient to confirm it, if the familiarity in that, like the common use of odors, have dulled the apprehension of our sense, we have variety presented in the allegations which he made, out of the ancient Rhetra of your laws, wherein it is expressed upon the occasion of those times that all great matters moved in Senate ought to be handled, discussed, and adjudged only by course of Senate, and not in inferior courts, to which right and

declaration the prince consented and approved. As likewise afterwards, upon an appeal of treason in that court, the lawyers and men skilful in those studies, being consulted, did confess that, moving in that place, it was not within their notion, within the compass of their cognizance, and thereupon concluded that, by the ancient custom, it appertained to the franchise and liberties of the Senate to judge of what was moving in that orb, and that no other courts had jurisdiction in such cases, which courts did only execute the ordinances and establishments of Senate, and not judge the Senate or privileges thereof. To the like he urged a protestation of that council upon an occasion of some fear, that it was the ancient and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the Athenians freely to treat, reason, and debate all matters and businesses in Senate without any impeachment, imprisonment, or molestation,—other than the censure of that court which shows the right, claim, and possession of the Senate, and that first ground and foundation on which Socrates did build. The next was the resolutions of the judges, the judges of old time, whose wisdoms and integrities preferred them, where they were concurring in this point (and never any differed from that sense but such as were spoken by their ends to be unworthy of those names, whose retractions were after written in their bloods). The resolutions of those elders, those worthily called judges, are the next authority he brings, whereof two are most remarkable: the first on a question of precedence, only a title of priority in that place, whereon all those sages being consulted, all the judges called to deliver their opinions, they answered that it, being matter of the Senate, belonged wholly to that privilege, and ought to be there decided, and not elsewhere; and, if not a private question of precedence, how much less the public business of that house? The second was upon the imprisonment of a member, a member of that body, where the judges, likewise being consulted (after said communication and mature deliberation, had, as 'twas vouched from the authority), answered that it belonged not to them to determine of those high privileges, for which they assigned two reasons drawn from the power and custom of that council: that it had not been used aforetime, and that the Senate was a court so high and mighty in its nature that it could make law, and that which was law it could make to be none. Where both in the affirmative and negative, it is clear, for the inducement of our Socrates, that what concerns either the privilege or business of the Senate (and in the business the greatest privilege is imported) must have decision in that place and in

no other, in none that is inferior. His next ground and reason was drawn from the laws and statutes of this country, those old rules by which Athens has been happy in a long continuance of prosperity (and long may it so continue, even to the envy of her enemies, the admiration of her friends). Those laws, those instruments of felicity, are the next ground of that silence in our Socrates, wherein he finds not only reason to excuse him, but authority commanding him not to attempt the contrary upon the peril of his judgment. And what might follow the violation of his duty? and what greater danger unto Socrates than the hazard of his faith, that public faith and fidelity he ought to his country, to the Senate, to the laws, to your most sacred laws and liberties, O Athenians? what greater danger unto Socrates than a violation of this duty? what greater obligation than his conscience? both which were necessitated in this one act of Socrates,—that, to secure himself in either, his silence was enforced, both for the obligation and the danger.

The laws which he insisted on were two (and these, likewise, you may see recorded in your Rhetra), the first concluding, in terms positive and definite, that no member of the Senate ought to be questioned for any bill, speaking, reasoning, or declaring in that place which is a clear illustration of the right, a clear demonstration of the privilege that what there was in agitation was not questionable elsewhere; and, therefore, Socrates in his duty to that privilege, in observance of that right, could not before his judges make answer to the fact which he was charged so to have done in Senate, lest he admit their jurisdiction contrary to that law. The second is more binding, and seems to have been prepared as a proper remedy for this sore, this wound, which Socrates did sustain; and therein the provision is not only for the security of Socrates from abroad, that he be not elsewhere questioned for matters done in Senate, but likewise from within, that no information lie against him, no intelligence do pass upon the secrets of his judgments and what overtures he makes in the assembly of that council for the public service and advantage, that there be no discovery made upon him. And this, as it binds up others not to discover Socrates, so it engages Socrates, both for himself and others, not to discover them. For it recites that, where some, to advance themselves, had given intelligence of certain matters moved in Senate before they were there accorded, and so caused a particular dislike against their fellows, and a general prejudice to the public proceedings of that council, therefore it enacts to prevent that evil in future, that none should so in-

form, and that no faith or credit should be given them if they did. Wherein (as the justice of Melitus is apparent that received the information against Socrates, and the integrity of Lyco that informed him, and the office of Anytus that accused him) the duty likewise of Socrates is expressed, that he might not make discovery of those passages, that he might not open what had been in agitation in the Senate, and therefore could not answer, when his answer must imply the intelligence of those secrets.

There was yet farther another ground of Socrates besides these laws, resolutions, claims, and concessions of all times (wherein the right is evident), which also proves the use, the possession of that right; and that is a judgment in the point, where the contrary had been actuate, where an attempt was made in prejudice of this privilege, the support of the liberties of the Senate. The case was this: a private person of this city, for exhibiting a bill in Senate which pointed at the limit and reformation of some great ones, had afterwards by the judges a sentence *læsæ majestatis* given against him; but the Senate, in their next meeting, finding this sentence grounded upon what had its motion in that sphere, and that the party had been questioned without them, they thereupon, without entering into the merits of the cause, without consideration of the fact whether it had such guilt, but simply for their privilege *pro interesse suo*, as the Rhetra has it, for the preservation of their liberties, to maintain that ancient right that in such cases none were questionable but by them, and in that this was done without them, that it was made the jurisdiction of another,—upon this error that sentence was reversed, and a judgment made to frustrate and annihil it, in confirmation of the privilege of Senate. And this in a case of treason, and for one that was not a member of that council. How much more, then, is that immunity extending, that privilege belonging unto Socrates, and in a case more qualified, wherein less danger is pretended? Socrates on this conceived himself discharged in point of right and equity; nay, he conceived that right to have a strict obligation on his conscience, that from him there should come nothing which might prejudice it. And this was an interdiction to his answer, a *supersedeas* to that act; and, therefore, Socrates made his catastrophe in silence, and with these reasons that silence was induced; in which whether Socrates were guilty,—guilty of those crimes which are objected to him, guilty of any, guilty of all,—whether that whole stream of malediction fall worthily on his memory now that Socrates is dead,

or any drop might justly light upon him, or the innocence and integrity of our Socrates, on the contrary, should yet be free from all, is now the question of this day, the object of your intentions, the subject of my endeavors, wherein, most excellent Athenians, as you will grant your attentions unto me, I must again petition your retentions for dead Socrates, that your love and affection to his virtues may cover the imperfections of his servant, he that now labors against so many difficulties, both of persons and the time, and the deceits and fallacies of either, yet to render truly your Socrates to you, you unto your Socrates.

To this end I shall now apply myself, to the particulars charged against him, with his defence in each particular. Each particular crime shall have particular answers ; and all, I hope, their satisfaction in the general, that none shall be left doubtful upon Socrates, no spot unwashed that may be an aspersion to his beauty, no color unremoved that may stain his reputation, but that his name, like his virtue, shall be clear,—clear from all stains, all aspersions, and all jealousies, clear in your judgment, O Athenians, clear in the judgment and opinions of all good men. For the first, that Socrates not answering made a defection from the law in not conforming to the process, which is a rule proposed to all men, and not to be declined, I might first say there was no such thing in fact, and therefore no deliction in that point ; and this truth were most apparent. For no process does require the exact performance of a thing. That might impose an impossibility on the party, as the payment of a sum to him that has it not, the satisfaction of a mulct laid by the wisdom of some judges beyond the proportion of the fortune from whence it should be issuing, and the like, which were an absurdity in reason ; and, therefore, no law commands impossibilities. But a double way is best for the fulfilling of that rule. The authority of the process stands in a dilemma : either this must be done or that, either the thing commanded, as the payment of the debt, the satisfaction of the mulct, and the like, or a submission of the party, a rendering of the person to the discretion of the law, either of which is a full answer to the process ; and so Socrates, by his sufferance and imprisonment, made an expiation of that guilt, and is free from that defection. But this reason I intend not to insist on, as too light an argument for Socrates, too narrow for his cause, which must have the full comprehension of all law, and not rest on part nor be supported by the forms, to become worthy of his innocence. Socrates has justice itself to warrant him in his silence and

retention ; the general authority of the law to answer the particular process made against him, as the common right of Athens, your liberties, O Athenians, the provisions of your fathers, the promulgations of your elders, all declaring, all conferring, all approving, that ancient privilege of Senate, which Senate does entertain the welfare of this nation, and that privilege the Senate. By this privilege, which is proved in the first arguments of our Socrates, no other court has jurisdiction in the business of that place, no other judge has cognizance of such causes. If there an offence be done (which what credulity can think an offence should there be perpetrated where all errors are reformed?), if Socrates should offend in the agitations of that council (and who can once believe that Socrates was offending? who can imagine his counsels should be faulty, who had no action, no intention not most regular?), if both Socrates and that council should be faulty, faulty in high degree, faulty in any measure, yet no other judge may question them, no other court has authority to judge them. They are exempt by the privilege of Senate, that sacred relic of antiquity, that palladium of this city. What offences are there done must there likewise be complained of ; and, if they do deserve it, they must there likewise be corrected,—there, and nowhere else, say those resolutions of old time which formerly were noted ; there and not by them, as those judges did confess it. Not in inferior courts, as those ancient declarations did express it. But in the Senate must those actions of the Senate be determined, in that council which only can have knowledge of those secrets, whose franchise and immunity it is (confessed by all priority, and in all former practices exhibited) to be the only judge upon itself. And the reason is evident in this case, for there is no court superior to the Senate,—nay, there is none that's equal, none not inferior unto that ; and it is an axiom in the law, *par in parem non habet potestatem*. And, if not an equal on an equal, much less an inferior can have that power on his superior, which is contrary to all laws,—the laws of man, the laws of God, the laws of nature ; for, as the laws of man have laid that ground and principle, the laws of God confirm it, which still command obedience to superiors, honor to elders. And the Senate to all other courts, which no man will deny, is both higher and elder, as the spring and fountain whence their originals are deducted. To which the laws of nature correspond, as we have it in the quality of a child, which admits no power or jurisdiction on the father. Therefore, no other court can have that influence on the Senate, nor jurisdiction on that priv-

ilege, or on Socrates as a Senator; but all law, all liberty, all right, all precedent and example, all concession, and acknowledgment of all persons in all times, give them a free exemption, — nay, by that right impose a necessity on Socrates not to submit his cause, which were to submit that right, and so to make Socrates by the counterchange of action turn his innocence into guilt, and where he now stands innocent to become guilty of this crime which his traducers have objected.

Where, then, is that defection from the law, that great crime in Socrates? Is it to have been constant to that principle not to decline that rule? Does it imply a disobedience to the former that the matter and substance is retained? Is the process neglected where the law itself is followed, when an exact observance is performed? Can the lesser challenge duty and obedience contrary to the service and attendance which is commanded by the greater? Here the greater did command Socrates not to answer, not to make submission of his cause, the cause and interest of the Senate, your interest, O Athenians, the right and title of your fathers, and not the cause of Socrates, but as he was a member of your body,—the greater, I say, did command him not to answer, not to make submission of his cause to the less, to the inferior authority of the judges, and so not to obey their process. Therefore, in this he made no defection from the law, nor is faulty and guilty of that crime in which he stands suspected. For the second offence which is supposed against our Socrates, the contempt of justice, in not submitting to authority where a judgment and sentence did require it, where there was a definition in the point, a resolution given by the judges of the laws, that Socrates ought to answer, there to be silent, as 'tis said, makes Socrates to be refractory, renders him stubborn and contemptuous against the forms of justice. And this is urged as a crime of higher nature, an offence that's more transcendent (as a judgment is held greater than a process), and so Socrates more faulty, to which though the same answer might be made that was given unto the other, and the defence were perfect and complete in the same arguments and reasons, yet we will deal more particularly herein to work the clearer satisfaction, to vindicate the honor of our Socrates, to repel the whole fury of his enemies, to leave no color for their slanders, no prejudice on his innocence. For this, therefore, we will first remove the supposition they have made, that a judgment is greater than a process; and then their aggravation falls to ground. 'Then we will show that in not answering to that judgment there was no contempt of justice, that

Socrates was not refractory to justice in not conforming to those judges; and for this we will fetch our arguments partly from the cause, partly from the consideration of the persons, which will prove that Socrates was not faulty. For the supposition that a judgment is greater than a process, that the denunciation of a court is of more authority than the writ, take but this difference, this short distinction, to refute it. The process is the authentic act of the law; the judgment, but the word and sentence of a man. The writ is as the letter itself of justice; the denunciation of a court, but the opinion of the judges. Whether, then, is greater the authority of the law or the word and sentence of a man? the opinion of a judge or the letter itself of justice? Let any man determine it, let the decision be by them, by those enemies of Socrates, upon those grounds let Socrates be judged; nor appeal shall go no further in this case than to their consciences. Let them now speak whether their aggravation be well laid. Judgments may err, men may be deceived, and many fallacies are incident to opinion; but the law and justice are still certain, there is no variation in their rules. Therefore, the sentence of the judges cannot be more valid than the authority of the law.

But to leave this and to answer the contempt, to show that Socrates was not refractory unto justice in not conforming to the opinion of the judges, let us first weigh the cause, how in the present right it bound him, and then the consequence, what operation, what effects, it might induce,—weigh it as the public cause of Athens, not the private interest of Socrates, as the right and title of the Senate, not only as the question of our Socrates. And then it will appear what contempt he has committed, and how far Socrates is faulty. The cause, you know, was the privilege of the Senate. To the maintenance of that privilege, besides the common tie of all men, Socrates had a proper obligation, both for the trust committed to him and his particular duty to that place. If, then, Socrates, by conforming to the judges, should have done anything in prejudice of that privilege, it must have been a violation of the general and particular obligation which he had, and so a forfeit of his duty. Now that the conforming to the judges had been a prejudice of that privilege, as it is apparent in the resolutions, is most pregnant in the statutes that were cited. Wherein there's not only a declaration of the right, but an injunction laid on Socrates that he shall not discover the passages of the Senate; and then he cannot answer to the question of those things when the answer must discover them. This for the right and the duty of

our Socrates, the discharge of which admits of no contempt; for good and evil have no competition. The consequence yet is of far greater observation, more pressing in the point, more binding upon Socrates. For, by granting this, Socrates must grant all; by submitting the privilege in this case, he for his part must submit it in all others; all business of the Senate he must yield to the jurisdiction of the judges if he admit their authority upon this; all secrets of that council which shall be treasured in his breast must he open if they have this power and influence on his person; for the question only gives intelligence of the fact, and before examination there can be no distinction made of the difference of causes. All secrets and not secrets are the same before they are truly known; and there is no knowledge but by trial, which trial makes an opening and discovery. And thus all the secrets of the Senate which were involved on Socrates must be subject to the judges, the most intimate counsels of that conclave obnoxious to their censure. They with the least pretence might question them, not taking knowledge of their nature, and by that question Socrates must discover them; for what he had once admitted he could not afterwards retract, with what effect might follow it, what operation it would have, what danger to our Socrates, what danger to the Senate, what danger to this State, I refer it to your wisdom, O Athenians, when your whole felicity and happiness has dependence on that council as the honor of our Socrates on integrity. Can it be thought, therefore, a contempt in Socrates against justice to have insisted on this privilege? Can it be thought a guilt not to submit this right? Can Socrates be faulty, to have preserved his duty to the Senate, his duty to his country, the neglect whereof did threaten so much danger unto either? If this be a contempt, let all men then be guilty. To preserve the public right, to support the common safety, let all men so be guilty of contempt. But, further, if there had not been this necessity of privilege, if nothing but the importance, as it was the cause of the Senate, had been obvious unto Socrates, could Socrates, with the safety of his judgment, have submitted it to Melitus, he who had said, who had said publicly to Socrates, by way of overture in that court, that the Senate had no privilege, that it had no power of judicature, that it only could make laws, and had no proceedings but that way, no power of execution? Could Socrates, with the safety of his judgment, have made submission of that right to him that so little understood it? Socrates could not submit the cause of the Senate to such judges, which were not fit to have been judges upon Socrates,

which reason of the persons, if no other were objected, were in this cause sufficient to excuse him, and to acquit Socrates of that guilt.

To descend, then, to the next, the next offence of Socrates which is suggested in his charge, that Socrates in not answering did desert the protection of his innocence, and exposed himself to scandal by that silence and retention, little on this will serve to avoid the accusation. For first, in general, his innocence is confessed; and what more is needful for the justification of our Socrates? What guilt can be suspected where his innocence is acknowledged? If he be innocent, how can he then be faulty? if faulty, how can he then be innocent? The truth in this was too subtile for his adversaries, even through their malice sallying to defend him. What they intended for a charge must be an apology for Socrates, what they objected as a crime must be a point of merit. O Truth, great is the wonder of thy virtue, even above all things thou art strong. Because Socrates did follow thee, thou wilt follow Socrates; because he was thy servant, thou hast so commanded it that his enemies should serve him. And this falls in the general confession of his innocence, but in particular in this act of Socrates, or rather this neglect which is pretended in his cause, that Socrates not answering made a desertion of his innocence. Consider first what that innocence imports, and then measure it by the fact, you shall there find, not an innocence deserted, but most religiously maintained, Socrates suffering for his innocence, not doing any lying to impeach it, Socrates in his blood writing these characters for posterity, not exposing his virtue unto scandal. This you shall see if you consider but that principle, what that innocence imports, and then apply it to the fact: therein you shall find that Socrates is not guilty. Innocence is not the opinion of the many, the reputation of one act, the freedom from some guilt, but a general virtue and integrity, a spotless, faultless course in the faithful execution of all duties, the discharge and performance of all offices, in which the greater still must be preferred before the less. Now, in this duty of our Socrates where the public interest was in question, no peculiar, no private faculties of his own might be brought in competition if the reputation of our Socrates had depended on that act. Where the public right of the Senate was in counterpoise, the scales must not be turned to the honor of our Socrates against the public and greater interests of the Senate; nor could it be a prejudice to his virtue to move, *in ordine*, to the public. Socrates was bound to prefer that greater right.

His virtue did oblige him to the observance of that duty. It was the innocence of Socrates not to decline this office, not to decline the public good for the advantage of his private. This will justify our Socrates if it be truly weighed against the strength of all opposers. But perchance it will be said, All men are not capable of this, all men have not the apprehension of this duty; but all men know the information that was made, the strange crimination against Socrates. And Socrates in their judgment makes himself guilty of them all by refusing of his answer, and so deserts his innocence.

To this I must reply that, though all this were true, yet it were no reason for the condemnation of our Socrates; for, if all men should so think, that Socrates were not innocent, yet it must not move his virtue rather to seem than be. It must not be a satisfaction unto Socrates that men do think him innocent: Socrates must be so, whatever men do think him. Heaven and his conscience must give testimony for Socrates. Those two must justify his innocence, though all the world condemn it. But here is no such thing, in fact, that Socrates is so doubted. Socrates is not obnoxious to that danger, in the true state of the cause; for, as all men know how Socrates was charged, all men knew the reason why Socrates did not answer,—that it was for fear of the public privilege and prejudice, not in jealousy of himself, that Socrates exposed his fortune and his person to preserve the right of the Senate; that Socrates prized his safety, not as the liberties of Athens; that his life was not so tender as his innocence. Therefore, that reason will not maintain the charge, which most unjustly is so laid, to accuse him as forsaking what, by all study and endeavor, by exposing of his fortune, by exposing of his person, by his liberty, by his life, he labored to preserve. Could there be greater innocence than herein Socrates did express? Can there be such an argument for Socrates as this innocence of his? They were enough to answer all accusers, all crimes, all charges, all objections. Herein Socrates might stop the mouth of all detraction, and give full satisfaction of his innocence,—an innocence for the admiration of all others, the imitation of the Athenians. Socrates may yet glory in the act, and triumph on his enemies. He hath by this one virtue, by this sole innocence, overcome them.

But yet they do impute another crime to Socrates; and, failing in the rest, they would make him traitor to your liberties. To you, O Athenians, they would make Socrates an enemy, in your right and privilege they would render him a traitor. What he was most affective to conserve, that they would make him

most effective to destroy. In not consenting to the jurisdiction of the judges, they do suppose him guilty of enlarging their authority; by denying it in one thing, to give it them in all, to force them to assume it in the particular of his cause, and by that assumption to create a precedent for the general. This charge is many ways unproved, and by variety of instrument. Those that are his enemies dilate it to divide him from your favors; those that were his judges use it in extenuation of their sentence; his accusers, his informers, and a generation worse than these, his seeming friends and associates, who pretend nothing but zeal in the public cause and interest, but intend only their private avarice and corruptions,—these all, but, most of all, these last, diffuse this scandal against Socrates, and, to cover their envy unto him, use the pretext and color of affection to your service. To these something must be said in apology for Socrates, something to preserve him from your prejudice and dislike,—not that their reasons do deserve it, that it is urged by the weight and pressure of their charge, but that his virtue does require it, that there be no place left to scandal, that there be no residence for detraction upon the actions of our Socrates, that, as his person, his fame likewise may be innocent. First, therefore, to show that the judges were not urged to assume that jurisdiction upon Socrates, but that their act was voluntary, and not necessitated and enforced, we must a little recapitulate the order of that cause. Socrates, being charged for matter done in Senate, pleads the privilege of that council, and therefore proves his cause not subject to their cognizance. The judges make a resolution against this, and determine upon Socrates that there is no such right in the Senate, no such privilege for him. So as in this they made a decision of that question and conclusion of that right, without the help of Socrates,—nay, contrary to his labor,—and assumed that jurisdiction to themselves, so that what follows was but the consequent of this, the judgment given on Socrates but an effect of that prejudice to the Senate. The privilege being denied in their first act, that assumption was their own; for the next was merely the single cause of Socrates, wherein the fact only was considerable, the right wholly being determined in the former, and therein Socrates was not guilty of necessitating their judgment, but that prejudice was merely of themselves, a voluntary assumption in that case, an effected entrance and invasion of the privilege of the Senate.

But if it had been otherwise, that Socrates enforced them by some necessity to this act (which who can think that Socrates

would do, whose doing and suffering had so contrary an intention by his pleading?), at the first endeavoring to prevent it, by his not pleading at the last giving a new occasion (for whereas by answering he had reduced their judgment to the matter, wherein still the privilege was involved, by not answering he brought it to his person, so as therein it was only a judgment upon Socrates which otherwise would have been a new conclusion upon the privilege), and therefore who can think that Socrates, both doing and suffering to that end, should so enforce them to the prejudice of this privilege? But if it had been so, if by supposition we admit it, does that particular conclude generally for all others? Will that instance against Socrates create a perfect right in the judges? Examples are no rules, no errors their examples; but what becomes a precedent must have both use and right,—right for the foundation and original, and use to show the superstruction and continuance. *Non firmatur tractu temporis*, say their old lawyers, *quod de jure ab initio non subsistit*; and, as the new, *all right has being and subsistence by use and acceptation*. Therefore, though Socrates had enforced that action on the judges, that act would not conclude their jurisdiction on all others; nor could Socrates therein be guilty of that crime of betraying of your liberties, nor without impiety may be thought, as was suggested in the charge, a traitor to himself, a traitor to the Senate, a traitor to his country. You have heard how much he did to preserve the public interests. You know how much he suffered to preserve his innocence therein. Should I enumerate his passions, I should renew your griefs. Instead of curing Socrates, I should wound you, O Athenians. I should pierce the soul of your affections with the memory of your Socrates, the memory of his virtues, the memory of his merit, his piety and integrity to you, his sincerity and fidelity to the Senate, his love and charity to all,—in all, beyond all measure of comparison, unmatched, unparalleled, unexampled. To renew the memory of these virtues, I should renew the affection of your losses, and turn this apology for Socrates into a common elegy of the Athenians.

I will not, therefore, by the commemoration of his virtues cause the renovation of your griefs; and, as I pass his merits, so I will do his sufferings. I will not enumerate his passions to tell you what he suffered,—what he suffered in his fortune, what he suffered in his person, in his liberty, in his life: to be made poor and naked; to be imprisoned and restrained; nay, not to be at all; not to have the proper use of anything; not to have knowledge of society; not to have being and existence,

his faculties confiscate, his friends debarred his presence, himself deprived the world. I will not tell you of all this suffered by your Socrates, all this suffered for your service, for you, most excellent Athenians, for your children, your posterity, to preserve your rights and liberties, that, as they were the inheritance of your fathers, from you likewise they may again devolve to them. I will not revive this memory of his passions for your service, lest in them I should revive your memory of your losses, your losses in your Socrates, for whom your justice, not your sorrow, now I crave, to protect him from his enemies, to protect him in his innocence, that unmatched innocence of Socrates, against their scandals and detractions, to determine upon the accusations you have heard whether Socrates be guilty, guilty, as is suggested, of defection from the law, contempt of authority and justice, desertion of his own innocence, betraying of your liberties; in all which as Socrates was charged, for Socrates we have answered, what I hope will satisfy your wisdoms, that Socrates was not faulty, for whom I crave your judgments, as your pardon for myself.

Among the papers found after Eliot's death, in his room in the Tower, was one bearing the indorsement, "An Apology for Socrates," with these words underneath, "An recte fecerit Socrates. quod accusatus non responderit." It was the piece of writing that seems last to have occupied him; and, if his friends could have doubted his design in raising and answering such a question in those last hours, the words written within the paper removed all doubt, "Upon a Judgment in y^e Court of King's Bench against y^e privilege of Parlt on a *nihil dicit*. 5th Car."

The Socrates as to whom inquiry was to be made whether he had acted rightly in not replying to his accusers was not an Athenian, but an English philosopher. The name was a mask, which there was no attempt to disguise or conceal. The design was to ask from a later age, when the writer should be no longer accessible to praise or blame, the justice denied in his own. No immodest comparison, we may be sure, was intended by the choice of a name so illustrious. It was taken simply as that of a man who had been the subject of an unjust accusation, who, on being called to plead or defend himself, told his accusers that, so far from having offended against the laws, he had done nothing for which he did not think himself entitled to be rewarded by them; who took his sentence with uncomplaining calmness, and to whose memory a succeeding time offered late but repentant homage by decree of a statue to himself and of ignominy to his accusers.

There can be no doubt that in the early months of 1632 a great pressure had been put upon Eliot by some of his friends to induce

him to make such concession on the point of good behavior as might render possible a compromise of his fine, and open some way to his release. At this time all who had shared his imprisonment, whether by order of the king at the dissolution of Parliament or by sentence of the judges subsequently, were at large, under various pleas and pretences, some consideration having been extended to all. Even Walter Long, who before had been let loose to attend his wife's death-bed, and afterwards, upon his own petition, to visit his "motherless, fatherless, friendless children," was at length released. Very opportunely also there had befallen Heath's resignation of the attorney-generalship, and the appointment to it of Noye, who, having taken as strong a part as either Selden or Eliot in the events that led to the scene of the 2d of March, appears to have been really anxious to promote the release of those quondam fellow-agitators. But, though Selden consented to go free upon his personal guarantee to appear when called upon, though Valentine showed no indisposition at last, as Eliot expressed it, to knock at the "back door of the court," and though the hangers-on of the court, noticing the rumor of an approaching parliament, were fain to speak of it as no unpleasant probability, "now that Noye and Selden are come on our side, and the rest of the rebels will be glad of worse conditions," the person who comprised in himself that "rest of the rebels" still steadily refused every form of compromise involving a concession to his judges. Also believing that a parliament would come, he would suffer no point of its privilege to be in his person surrendered or betrayed.

In these circumstances the "Apology" was written; and we learn from it that what in connection with them had caused most pain to the writer was the tone taken by old associates against this continued refusal. It was difficult to bear such reproach, because impossible to answer it without assuming in turn the censor's office, not merely against renegades he despised, but against friends whom he esteemed. And it was this which seems to have determined him, in drawing up a final statement of his case, to divest it in outward seeming of any directness of personal allusion, by writing as if in defence of one who belonged to another country and a distant time. But the mask was not for concealment, and was worn so that any might uplift it.—*From Forster's Life of Eliot.*

If Hampden and Pym are the great figures which embody the later national resistance, the earlier struggle for Parliamentary liberty centres in the figure of Sir John Eliot. Of an old family which had settled, under Elizabeth, near the fishing hamlet of St. Germans, and whose stately mansion gives its name of Port Eliot to a little town on the Tamar, he had risen to the post of Vice-Admiral of Devonshire under the patronage of Buckingham, and had seen his activity in the suppression of piracy in the Channel rewarded by an unjust imprisonment. He was now [1625] in the

first vigor of manhood, with a mind exquisitely cultivated and familiar with the poetry and learning of his day, a nature singularly lofty and devout, a fearless and vehement temper. There was a hot impulsive element in his nature, which showed itself in youth in his drawing sword on a neighbor who denounced him to his father, and which in later years gave its characteristic fire to his eloquence. But his intellect was as clear and cool as his temper was ardent. What he believed in was the English Parliament. He saw in it the collective wisdom of the realm: and in that wisdom he put a firmer trust than in the statecraft of kings. In the general enthusiasm which followed on the failure of the Spanish marriage, Eliot had stood almost alone in pressing for a recognition of the rights of Parliament as a preliminary to any real reconciliation with the Crown. He fixed, from the very outset of his career, on the responsibility of the royal ministers to Parliament as the one critical point for English liberty.—*From Green's History of the English People.*

"An Apology for Socrates" was written by Eliot in the Tower in 1632, and it was evidently his last work. It was, as Forster truly says, his appeal to a later time. The "Apology" was first published in a limited edition, carefully edited by Dr. Grosart, in 1881, along with the "Negotium Posteriorum," Eliot's history of the first parliament of Charles I. Of the one hundred copies printed, seven are in America,—one each in the Boston Public Library, the Boston Athenæum, the library of Harvard University, the Peabody Institute at Baltimore, the library of the State Department, and two in private collections. Similar editions were also issued by Grosart of "The Monarchie of Man" and "De Jure Majestatis," philosophical treatises on government, both composed by Eliot during his imprisonment, as well as the "Letter-book of Sir John Eliot," containing many important letters to and from Hampden and other friends of the parliamentary cause. It is much to be regretted that there are no popular editions of Eliot's writings. Grosart's introductions and notes are very full. Forster's *Life of Sir John Eliot*, in two volumes, is one of Forster's most important works, and the only important life of Eliot. Grosart's criticisms of it should be noted, and the sections devoted to Eliot by Green and Gardiner in their histories of England should be read.

PUBLISHED BY
THE DIRECTORS OF THE OLD SOUTH WORK,
Old South Meeting-house, Boston, Mass.



Ship-money Papers.

I. SPECIMEN OF THE FIRST WRIT OF SHIP-MONEY. 1634.

Carolus Rex, &c.

To the Mayor, commonalty, and citizens of our city of London, and to the sheriffs of the same city, and good men in the said city and in the liberties, and members of the same, greeting: Because we are given to understand that certain thieves, pirates, and robbers of the sea, as well Turks, enemies of the Christian name, as others, being gathered together, wickedly taking by force and spoiling the ships, and goods, and merchandises, not only of our subjects, but also the subjects of our friends in the sea, which hath been accustomed anciently to be defended by the English nation, and the same, at their pleasure, have carried away, delivering the men in the same into miserable captivity: and forasmuch as we see them daily preparing all manner of shipping farther to molest our merchants, and to grieve the kingdom, unless remedy be not sooner applied, and their endeavors be not more manly met withal; also the dangers considered which, on every side, in these times of war do hang over our heads, that it behoveth us and our subjects to hasten the defence of the sea and kingdom with all expedition or speed that we can; we willing by the help of God chiefly to provide for the defence of the kingdom, safeguard of the sea, security of our subjects, safe conduct of ships and merchandises to our kingdom of England coming, and from the same kingdom to foreign parts passing; forasmuch as we, and our progenitors, Kings of England, have been always heretofore masters of the aforesaid sea, and it would be very irksome unto us if that princely honor in our times should be lost or in any thing diminished. And although that charge of defence which concerneth all men ought to be supported by all, as by the laws and customs of the kingdom of England hath

been accustomed to be done: notwithstanding we considering that you constituted in the sea-coasts, to whom by sea as well great dangers are imminent, and who by the same do get more plentiful gains for the defence of the sea, and conservation of our princely honor in that behalf, according to the duty of your allegiance against such attempts, are chiefly bound to set to your helping hand; we command firmly, enjoining you the aforesaid Mayor, commonalty and citizens, and sheriffs of the said city, and the good men in the same city and in the liberties, and members of the same, in the faith and allegiance wherein you are bound unto us, and as you do love us and our honor, and under the forfeiture of all which you can forfeit to us, that you cause to be prepared and brought to the port of Portsmouth, before the first day of March now next ensuing, one ship of war of the burden of nine hundred tons, with three hundred and fifty men at the least, as well expert masters as very able and skilful mariners; one other ship of war of the burden of eight hundred tons, with two hundred and sixty men at the least, as well skilful masters as very able and expert mariners: four other ships of war, every of them of the burden of five hundred tons, and every of them with two hundred men at the least, as well expert masters as very able and skilful mariners: and one other ship of war of the burden of three hundred tons, with a hundred and fifty men, as well expert masters as very able and skilful mariners: and also every of the said ships with ordnance, as well greater as lesser, gunpowder, and spears and weapons, and other necessary arms sufficient for war, and with double tackling, and with victuals, until the said first of March, competent for so many men; and from that time, for twenty-six weeks, at your charges, as well in victuals as men's wages, and other things necessary for war, during that time, upon defence of the sea in our service, in command of the admiral of the sea, to whom we shall commit the custody of the sea, before the aforesaid first day of March, and as he, on our behalf, shall command them to continue; so that they may be there the same day, at the farthest, to go from thence with our ships, and the ships of other faithful subjects, for the safeguard of the sea, and defence of you and yours, and repulse and vanquishing of whomsoever busying themselves to molest or trouble upon the sea our merchants, and other subjects, and faithful people coming into our dominions for cause of merchandise, or from thence returning to their own countries. Also we have assigned you, the aforesaid Mayor and Aldermen of the city aforesaid, or any thirteen, or

more of you, within thirteen days after the receipt of this writ; to assess all men in the said city, and in the liberties, and members of the same, and the landholders in the same, not having a ship, or any part of the aforesaid ships, nor serving in the same, to contribute to the expenses, about the necessary provision of the premises; and to assess and lay upon the aforesaid city, with the liberties and members thereof, viz. upon every of them according to their estate and substances, and the portion assessed upon them; and to nominate and appoint collectors in this behalf. Also we have assigned you, the aforesaid Mayor, and also the Sheriffs of the city aforesaid, to levy the portions so as aforesaid assessed upon the aforesaid men and landholders, and every of them in the aforesaid city, with the liberties and members of the same, by distress and other due means; and to commit to prison all those whom you shall find rebellious and contrary in the premises, there to remain until we shall give further order for their delivery. And moreover we command you, that about the premises you diligently attend, and do, and execute those things with effect, upon peril that shall fall thereon: but we will not, that under color of our aforesaid command, more should be levied of the said men than shall suffice for the necessary expenses of the premises; or that any who have levied money for contribution to raise the aforesaid charges, should by him detain the same, or any part thereof; or should presume, by any manner of color, to appropriate the same to other uses; willing, that if more than may be sufficient shall be collected, the same may be paid out among the contributors, for the rate of the part to them belonging.

Witness myself, at Westminster the twentieth day of October, in the tenth year of our reign.

II. THE KING'S CASE LAID BEFORE THE JUDGES, WITH THEIR ANSWER.* February 7, 1637.

Carolus Rex,

When the good and safety of the kingdom in general is concerned, and the whole kingdom in danger, whether may not the

* An earlier opinion had been given by the Judges at Finch's instance in November, 1635, to the following effect: "I am of opinion that, as when the benefit doth more particularly redound to the ports or maritime parts, as in case of piracy or depredations upon the seas, that the charge hath been, and may be lawfully imposed upon them according to precedents of former times; so that when the good and safety of the kingdom in general is concerned, and the whole kingdom in danger (of which His Majesty is the only judge), then the charge of the defence ought to be borne by all the realm in general. This I hold agreeably both to law and reason."

King, by writ under the Great Seal of England, command all the subjects of our kingdom at their charge to provide and furnish such a number of ships, with men, victuals, and munition, and for such time as we shall think fit for the defence and safeguard of the kingdom from such danger and peril, and by law compel the doing thereof, in case of refusal or refractoriness: and whether in such a case is not the King the sole judge both of the danger, and when and how the same is to be prevented and avoided?

May it please your Most Excellent Majesty,

We have, according to your Majesty's command, every man by himself, and all of us together, taken into serious consideration the case and question signed by your Majesty, and inclosed in your royal letter; and we are of opinion that, when the good and safety of the kingdom in general is concerned, and the kingdom in danger, your Majesty may, by writ under the Great Seal of England, command all your subjects of this your kingdom, at their charge to provide and furnish such a number of ships, with men, victuals, and munition, and for such time as your Majesty shall think fit for the defence and safeguard of this kingdom from such danger and peril: and that by law your Majesty may compel the doing thereof in case of refusal or refractoriness: and we are also of opinion that in such case your Majesty is the sole judge both of the danger and when and how the same is to be prevented and avoided.

John Bramston,
John Finch,
Humphry Davenport,
John Denham,
Richard Hutton,
William Jones,

George Croke,
Thomas Trevor,
George Vernon,
Francis Crawley,
Robert Berkeley,
Richard Weston.

III. EXTRACTS FROM THE SPEECH OF OLIVER ST. JOHN IN THE SHIP-MONEY CASE. November, 1637.

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My Lords, by the law the King is *Pater familiae*, who by the law of economics is not only to keep peace at home, but to protect his wife and children and whole families from injuries from abroad.

It is his vigilance and watchfulness that discovers who are

our friends and foes, and that after such discovery first warns us of them, for he only hath power to make war and peace.

Neither hath the law only intrusted the care of the defence to His Majesty, but it hath likewise, secondly, put the *armatam potestatem* and means of defence wholly in his hands ; for when the enemy is by him discovered and declared, it is not in the power of the subject to order the way and means of defence, either by sea or by land, according as they shall think fit ; for no man without commission or special license from His Majesty, can set forth any ships to sea for that purpose ; neither can any man, without such commission or license, unless upon sudden coming of enemies, erect a fort, castle, or bulwark, though upon his own ground ; neither, but upon some such emergent cause, is it lawful for any subject, without special commission, to arm or draw together any troops or companies of soldiers, or to make any general collections of money of any of His Majesty's subjects, though with their consent.

Neither, in the third place, is His Majesty armed only with this primitive prerogative power of *generalissimo*, and commander-in-chief, that none can advance towards the enemy until he gives the signal, nor in other manner than according to his direction ; but likewise with all other powers requisite for the full execution of all things incident to so high a place, as well in times of eminent danger as of actual war. The sheriff of each county, who is but His Majesty's minister, he hath the *Posse Comitatus* ; and therefore it must needs follow that the *Posse Regni* is in himself.

My Lords, not to burn daylight longer, it must needs be granted that in this business of defence the *suprema potestas* is inherent in His Majesty, as part of his crown and kingly dignity.

So that as the care and provision of the law of England extends in the first place to foreign defence, and secondly lays the burden upon all, and for ought I have to say against it, it maketh the quantity of each man's estate the rule whereby this burden is to be equally apportioned upon each person ; so likewise hath it in the third place made His Majesty the sole judge of dangers from foreigners, and when and how the same are to be prevented, and to come nearer, hath given him power by writ under the Great Seal of England, to command the inhabitants of each county to provide shipping for the defence of the kingdom, and may by law compel the doing thereof.

So that, my Lords, as I still conceive the question will not be *de persona*, in whom the *suprema potestas* of giving the

authorities or powers to the sheriff, which are mentioned in this writ, doth lie, for that it is in the King; but the question is only *de modo*, by what medium or method this supreme power, which is in His Majesty, doth infuse and let out itself into this particular; and whether or no in this cause such of them have been used as have rightly accommodated, and applied this power unto this writ in the intended way of defence for the law of England, for the applying of that supreme power, which it hath settled in His Majesty, to the particular causes and occasions that fall out, hath set down methods and known rules, which are necessary to be observed.

In His Majesty there is a two-fold power, *voluntas*, or *potestas interna*, or *naturalis*; *externa*, or *legalis*, which by all the Judges of England, 2 R. 3, fo. 11, is expressed *per voluntatem Regis in camera*, and *voluntatem Regis per legem*.

My Lords, the forms and rules of law are not observed; this supreme power not working *per media*, it remains still in himself as *voluntas Regis interna*, and operates not to the good and relief of the subject that standeth in need.

To instance,

His Majesty is the fountain of bounty; but a grant of lands without Letters Patent transfers no estate out of the King to the patentee, nor by Letters Patents, but by such words as the law hath prescribed.

His Majesty is the fountain of justice; and though all justice which is done within the realm flows from this fountain, yet it must run in certain and known channels: an assize in the King's Bench, or an appeal of death in the Common Pleas, are *coram non iudice*, though the writ be His Majesty's command; and so of the several jurisdictions of each Court, the justice whereby all felons and traitors are put to death, proceeds from His Majesty; but if a writ of execution of a traitor or felon be awarded by His Majesty, without appeal or indictment preceding, an appeal of death will lie by the heir against the executioner. If the process be legal, and in a right Court, yet I conceive that His Majesty alone, without assistance of the Judges of the Court, cannot give judgment. I know that King John, H. 3, and other Kings, have sat on the King's Bench, and in the Exchequer; but for ought appears they were assisted by their Judges. This I ground upon the Book Case of 2 R. 3, fo. 10 & 11.

Where the party is to make fine and ransom at the King's will and pleasure, this fine, by the opinion of the Judges of England, must be set by the Judges before whom the party

was convicted, and cannot be set by the King: the words of the book are thus: *In terminis, et non per Regem per se in camera sua nec aliter coram se nisi per justitiarios suos; et haec est voluntas Regis, scilicet per justitiarios suos et per legem suam* to do it.

And as without the assistance of his Judges, who are his settled counsel at law, His Majesty applies not the law and justice in many cases unto his subjects; so likewise in other cases: neither is this sufficient to do it without the assistance of his great Council in Parliament; if an erroneous judgment was given before the Statute of 27 Eliz. in the King's Bench, the King could not relieve his grieved subjects any way but by Writ of Error in Parliament; neither can he out of Parliament alter the old laws, nor make new, or make any naturalizations or legitimations, nor do some other things; and yet is the Parliament His Majesty's Court too, as well as other his Courts of Justice. It is His Majesty that gives life and being to that, for he only summons, continues, and dissolves it, and he by his *le volt* enlivens all the actions of it; and after the dissolution of it, by supporting his Courts of Justice, he keeps them still alive, by putting them in execution: and although in the Writ of Wast, and some other writs, it is called *Commune Concilium Regni*, in respect that the whole kingdom is representatively there; and secondly, that the whole kingdom have access thither in all things that concern them, other Courts affording relief but in special causes; and thirdly, in respect that the whole kingdom is interested in, and receive benefit by the laws and things there passed; yet it is *Concilium Regni* no otherwise than the Common Law is *Lex Terrae*, that is *per modum Regis* whose it is; if I may so term it in a great part, even in point of interest, as he is the head of the Commonwealth, and whose it is wholly in trust for the good of the whole body of the realm; for he alone is trusted with the execution of it.

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The second thing which I observe is this, by the cases before cited it appears, that without the assistance in Parliament, His Majesty cannot in many cases communicate either his justice or power unto his subjects.

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My Lords, I have now done with the stating of the question: the things whereupon I shall spend all the rest of my time are these five.

1. Admitting that the ordinary means before mentioned had been all used, and that they had not been sufficient, whether in

this case His Majesty, without consent in Parliament, may, in this case of extraordinary defence, alter the property of the subject's goods for the doing thereof.

2. In the next place I shall endeavor to answer to some objections which may be made to the contrary.

3. In the third place, for qualifying of this I shall admit, that in some cases the property of the subject's goods, for the defence of the realm, may be altered without consent in Parliament; and I shall show what they be in particular, and compare them and the present occasion together.

4. In the fourth place, because of some precedents of the matter of fact, and likewise legal authorities that may seem to prove a legality in this particular of shipping for the defence at sea, whatever it be in the general; I shall therefore endeavor an answer to such of them as I have met withal.

And shall conclude in the last place with the authorities in point.

For the first, that to the altering of the property of the subject's goods, though for the defence of the realm, that a parliamentary assistance is necessary.

In this it must be granted in the first place, that the law ties no man, and much less the King, to impossibilities.

And secondly, that the kingdom must be defended.

As therefore the law hath put this great trust upon His Majesty; so when the supplies, which by the ways before mentioned it hath put into his hands, are spent, therein it hath provided other ways for a new supply, which is the first thing that I shall present to your Lordships, and this is the aids and subsidies in Parliament.

That amongst the *ardua Regni negotia*, for which Parliaments are called, this of the defence is not only one of them, but even the chief, is cleared by this, that of all the rest none is named particularly in the summons, but only this; for all the summons to Parliament show the cause of the calling of them to be *pro quibusdam arduis negotiis nos et defensionem Regni nostri Angliae et Ecclesiae Anglicanae concernentibus*. And in conclusion, the party summoned is commanded to be there *sicut honorem nostrum, et salvationem, et defensionem Regni et Ecclesiae diligit*.

And in all the ancient summons of Parliament, when aid was demanded, the particular cause of defence and against what enemy in special was mentioned.

My Lords, the Parliament, as it is best qualified and fitted

to make this supply for some of each rank, and that through all the parts of the kingdom being there met, His Majesty having declared the danger, they best knowing the estates of all men within the realm, are fittest, by comparing the danger and men's estates together, to proportion the aid accordingly.

And, secondly, as they are fittest for the preservation of that fundamental propriety which the subject hath in his lands and goods, because each subject's vote is included in whatsoever is there done; so that it cannot be done otherwise, I shall endeavor to prove to your Lordships both by reason and authority.

My first reason is this, that the Parliament by the law is appointed as the ordinary means for supply upon extraordinary occasions, when the ordinary supplies will not do it: if this in the writ therefore may, without resorting to that, be used, the same argument will hold as before in resorting to the extraordinary, by [exclusion?] of the ordinary, and the same inconvenience follow.

My second reason is taken from the actions of former Kings in this of the defence.

The aids demanded by them, and granted in Parliament, even for this purpose of the defence, and that in times of imminent danger, are so frequent, that I will spare the citing of any of them: it is rare in a subject, and more in a prince, to ask and take that of gift, which he may and ought to have of right, and that without so much as a *salvo*, or declaration of his right.

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My Lords, it appears not by anything in the writ, that any war at all was proclaimed against any State, or that if any His Majesty's subjects had taken away the goods of any prince's subjects in Christendom, but that the party might have recovered them before your Lordships in any His Majesty's Courts; so that the case in the first place is whether in times of peace His Majesty may, without consent in Parliament, alter the property of the subject's goods for the defence of the realm.

Secondly, the time that will serve the turn for the bringing in of the supplies and means of the defence, appears to your Lordships judicially by the writ, that is seven months within four days; for the writ went out Aug. 4, and commands the ship to be at Portsmouth, the place of the rendezvous, the first of March following; and thereby it appears that the necessity in respect of the time was not such, but that a parliamentary consent might in that time have been endeavored for the effecting of the supply.

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IV. EXTRACTS FROM THE ARGUMENT OF SIR ROBERT BERKELEY, JUSTICE OF THE KING'S BENCH. 1638.

For my clear delivery and expression of myself, I divide all that I shall say into these four heads. (1) I will state the case, and will settle the proper question of it, as the pleadings are. (The true stating and settling of a case conduceth much to the right answer of it.) (2) I will consider the policy and fundamental rules of the Common Law, applicable unto that which upon stating the case shall appear to be the proper question. (3) I will consider the Acts of Parliament, the answer to petitions in Parliament, and the several Magna Chartas of the liberties of England, which concern the King's proceeding in this case. (4) I will answer the material objections, which have been made on the other side.

Upon my first general head. I hope that none doth imagine, that it either is or can be drawn by consequence, to be any part of the question in this case, whether the King may at all times, and upon all occasions, impose charges upon his subjects in general, without common consent in Parliament? If that were made the question, it is questionless that he may not. The people of the kingdom are subjects, not slaves, freemen, not villains, to be taxed *de alto et basso*.

Though the King of England hath a monarchical power, and hath *jura summae majestatis*, and hath an absolute trust settled in his crown and person, for government of his subjects; yet his government is to be *secundum leges regni*. It is one of the questions in the *juramentum regis*, at his coronation (see the old Magna Charta, fol. 164); *Concedis justas leges et consuetudines regni esse tuendas?* And the king is to answer, *Concedo*. By those laws the subjects are not tenants at the king's will, of what they have. They have in their lands *Feodum simplex*, which by Littleton's description is, *haereditas legitima, vel pura*. They have in their goods a property, a peculiar interest, a *meum et tuum*. They have a birthright in the laws of the kingdom. No new laws can be put upon them; none of their laws can be altered or abrogated without common consent in Parliament.

Thus much I speak to avoid misapprehensions and misreports upon that which I shall say in this case; not as if there were cause of saying so much upon anything challenged on the King's side. We have in print His Majesty's own most gracious Declaration that it is his maxim that the people's liberties strengthen the King's prerogative, and that the King's prerogative is to defend the people's liberties.

Secondly, though Mr. Hampden's counsel have spent all their powder in citing a multitude of records, beginning with one in King John's time, and so downwards, to prove that the King's ministers have paid, that the barons have been by writs commanded sometimes to pay, sometimes to make allowances, out of the King's moneys or dues,—in cases of foreign auxiliary, and voluntary wars: in cases of particular or ordinary defence of the realm, as upon rebellion of subjects, or inroads by enemies, into parts, marches, or maritime; such enemies, I mean, as are not greatly formidable, as are apt to run away when they hear of any force coming against them: in cases of setting forth ships, for scouring the seas from petty pirates, so that merchants may have safe passage: in cases where victuals, or other provisions, were taken from particular persons, by way of purveyance, for soldiers, or for the King's army: in cases of borrowing of money by the King's officers for war, or ordinary or extraordinary defence: in cases of taking money or goods against the owner's consent, by warrant for the King's use, for war, or other manner of defence: in cases where particular men's ships, horses, or armor, were lost in the wars: in cases where private men's houses were used in the King's service: lastly, in cases of general and extraordinary defence, where the King had sufficient aids for that purpose granted to him in Parliament. Although I confess it be true that the King in all these cited cases must pay of his own, without imposing upon the subject; yet I say that those cases come not close to our case: for every of those cases hath a manifest, particular, and just reason; but none of these reasons are applicable to the case now in question, as is easy to demonstrate, if a man would enter into every of these particulars; which I forbear, for saving of time. And these records being taken away, the multitude of vouchers on Mr. Hampden's side will be greatly abated.

Thirdly, the case of the ancient tribute called Danegelt, of which Mr. Hampden's counsel hath spoken, though it come nearer than any of the former mentioned cases, yet it much differs from the charge imposed in our case.

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Fourthly, I affirm, with much clearness, under favor, that the charge now demanded is not within the ancient acceptation or signification of the words, aids, mises, prizes, taxes, or talliages, which it is to be agreed cannot be exacted by the King, without consent in Parliament. Neither is it within the compass of the word subsidy, which may not be levied but upon

grant of it in Parliament. Aids, if you take the word in a general sense, they were of two kinds: (1) Such as were aids and services too, as *pur faire fitz chevalier, pur file marier*. That kind of aid, common persons, who had seigniories, had right unto, as well as the King. No color of comprehending this kind of aids, within the word aids, pertinent to this question. To the second kind of aids, were sums of money from the subject to the King, by way of help, *ad agenda regis*; as for making of castles, building of bridges, helps for voluntary or auxiliary wars or for the King to do his pleasure with, and the like. . . . Mises were presentations in kind of a benevolence, upon a King's first coming to his crown; such are yielded at this day in Wales to a Prince of Wales. Prises are taking of part of the subject's goods from them to the King's use without pay; hence prisage of wines at this day.

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Fifthly, it cannot be said that the present case is to be stated so, as unless the charge commanded be obeyed, an assured infallible ruin and subversion of this kingdom will happen, and that instantly. In such a case, *quid non* is lawful; and happy he who by doing any exploit can save the ship from sinking, the body from falling.

Sixthly, it is to be observed that the principal command in the Shipping-Writ is not to levy money, it is to provide a ship; which ship being to be provided at the charge of a multitude, in regard the thing cannot be done any manner of way, but by the means of that which is *mensura rerum*, namely, money, therefore the instructions in the Shipping-Writ are not only apt, but necessary; that an assessment be made, whereby proportionable sums of money may be collected for the provision of the thing commanded. And thereupon it may be said that the sum assessed upon every one, and in our case upon Mr. Hampden, is not a debt *vi termini*, but is rather a duty to be performed as a means conducing to the principal end. The refusal of performance of which duty is a refusal to obey the principal thing commanded, *qui negat medium, destruit finem*. And the principal thing commanded, being of a kind concerning the commonwealth, the King, who is the head, the sovereign of the commonwealth, and who hath, as incident to his regal office, power of coercion, is by law to exercise such his power of coercion, to inforce such as refuse to join with others in performance of that which is commanded for the commonwealth. And this being the true state and way of the proceedings in the present case, it is apparent that, though the *Scire*

Facias against Mr. Hampden be in the King's name, yet it is not to have execution as for the King's money, or as for a debt due to the King from Mr. Hampden. But as is manifest, if the whole contexture of the Writ of *Scire Facias* be observed, it is nothing else but to bring on a declaratory payment. That Mr. Hampden ought *onerari* to the payment of the 20s. assessed upon him. So that with his 20s., together with the other money of Buckinghamshire men, assessed also upon every of them particularly, the ship commanded from the county of Buckingham may be provided.

Seventhly and lastly, having declared of what nature our case is not, I come now to tell you what the state of it is. The true state of our question must be made out of the whole record or pleading of the case, the matter of fact wherein the defendant hath confessed (as I noted in the beginning). In the writ of Aug. 11 Car. and in the Writ of *Mittimus*, there are causes expressed of the issuing of the writ of Aug. 11, or the Shipping-Writ; those causes are several, but not to be severed, all of them are to be laid together into the balance.

1. *Piratae congregati*, upon the English seas. 2. *Piratae navigium indies preparantes, ad mercatores ulterius molestandos, et ad regnum gravandum.* 3. *Pericula* are *undique regno Angliae, in his guerrinis temporibus.* Those *pericula* do *imminere regno, nisi citius remedium ponatur*; where the word *citius* is a comparative word, relative to slow ways of remedy, amongst which Parliaments is one. 4. *Regi et subditis convenit, omni qua poterint festinatione accelerare, ad regni defensionem, maris tuitionem, et securitatem subditorum.*

Out of all those positions it appears that there is in the case real and manifest peril; not *panicus terror*, fear without cause; *tempora* are *de facto guerrina*, there is *de facto navium congregatio*.

Again, we must observe that in this case: 1. The command is *ad proficiscendum cum navibus regis*. So the King himself is to join with the subject in the common defence. Here is not a *quod tibi fieri non vis*. Here is rather a *contributio* than a *tributio*. 2. The ships and arms to be provided are to continue the subject's own in property. The King doth not assume the property of them to himself; he only commands them to be made and used for the common defence. This appears by the words *ad proficiscendum cum navibus nostris*. So the writ sets a distinction between *naves nostrae* (that is, the King's) and the ships to be provided. See the like of this, m. 28 and 29 Ed. 1, *Communia*, with the King's Remembrancer, for galleys com-

manded upon the like occasion; and P. 5, E. 2, and P. 13, E. 2, with the King's Remembrancer, *inter brevia directa baronibus*. 3. The subjects are commanded, in this case, to be at the expenses, *tam in victualibus quam hominum salariis ad guerram necessariis*. This I shall prove clearly anon to be consonant to law, and warranted by many precedents in the like cases. 4. All the counties of the kingdom, that is, all the kingdom in general, is charged, not any spared; the clergy, the King himself, are to join the provisions. 5. The final end and scope of all this preparation is *defensio regni, tuitio maris, retentio dominii maris, securitas subditorum, salus reipublicae*.

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Now whether to set the commonwealth free and in safety from this peril of ruin and destruction, the King may not, of his own royal authority, and without common assent in Parliament, impose a charge upon his subjects in general to provide such shipping as is necessary in his royal judgment, to join with His Majesty's own ships to attend them for such time as His Majesty in his royal wisdom shall think fit, and also to enjoin them to be themselves at the expenses, *tam in victualibus quam hominum salariis, et aliis ad guerram necessariis*?

I would be loath to irritate any differing in opinion from me with provoking or odious terms; but I cannot more fully express myself (and so I desire it may be taken as an expression, and not as a comparison) than in saying that it is a dangerous tenet, a kind of judaizing opinion, to hold that the weal public must be exposed to peril of utter ruin and subversion rather than such a charge as this, which may secure the commonwealth, may be imposed by the King upon the subject, without common consent in Parliament. So that the security of the commonwealth, for the very subsistence of it, must stay and expect until a Parliament provide for it; in which interim of time, it is possible, nay, apparently probable, yea, in a manner to be presumed, that all may be, yea, will be brought to a final period of destruction and desolation.

All know that the Jews were so strict that they would not use means for defence of themselves and their country upon their Sabbath. Their enemies took the advantage, and ruined their state.

The Second General Head.—I now come to my second general head, wherein I proposed to consider of the fundamental policy, and maxims, and rules of law, for the government of this realm, and of the reasons of law pertinent to our case, which are very many. I will briefly and severally point at those

which make impression in me. 1. It is plain that as originally, even before the Romans' time, the frame of this kingdom was a monarchical state, so for divers hundreds of years past, upon the Romans' desertion of it, and after the heptarchy ended, it was, and continued, and still continueth monarchical. And our gracious sovereign is a monarch, and the rights of free monarchy appertain unto him; and yet still with this, that he must *leges ad consuetudines regni servare, et praecipue leges et consuetudines et libertates a glorioso rege Edwardo* (that is Edward the Confessor) *clero populoque concessas*; as appears in the old *Magn. Chart.* fol. 164, tit. *juramentum regis quando coronatur*.

2. Where Mr. Holborne* supposed a fundamental policy in the creation of the frame of this kingdom, that in case the monarch of England should be inclined to exact from his subjects at his pleasure, he should be restrained, for that he could have nothing from them, but upon a common consent in Parliament.

He is utterly mistaken herein. I agree the Parliament to be a most ancient and supreme court, where the King and Peers, as judges, are in person, and the whole body of the Commons representatively. There Peers and Commons may, in a fitting way, *parler leur ment*, and show the estate of every part of the kingdom; and amongst other things, make known their grievances (if there be any) to their sovereign, and humbly petition him for redress.

But the former fancied policy I utterly deny. The law knows no such king-yoking policy. The law is of itself an old and trusty servant of the King's; it is his instrument or means which he useth to govern his people by. I never read nor heard that *lex* was *Rex*; but it is common and most true that *Rex* is *lex*, for he is *lex loquens*, a living, a speaking, an acting law: and because the King is *lex loquens*, therefore it is said that *Rex censetur habere omnia jura in scrinio pectoris sui*.

There are two maxims of the law of England, which plainly disprove Mr. Holborne's supposed policy. The first is, "That the King is a person trusted with the state of the commonwealth." The second of these maxims is, "That the King cannot do wrong." Upon these two maxims the *jura summae majestatis* are grounded, with which none but the King himself (not his high court of Parliament without leave) hath to meddle, as, namely, war and peace, value of coin, Parliament at pleasure, power to dispense with penal laws, and divers others; amongst which I range these also, of regal power to command

* One of Hampden's counsel.

provision (in case of necessity) of means from the subjects, to be adjoined to the King's own means for the defence of the commonwealth, for the preservation of the *salus reipublicae*. Otherwise I do not understand how the King's Majesty may be said to have the majestical right and power of a free monarch.

It is agreed that the King is, by his regal office, bound to defend his people against foreign enemies; our books are so, Fitzherbert, *Natura brevium*, fol. 118, *Est a entendre que le roy doit de droit; saver et defendre son realme com' vers le meere, com' vers enemies*. *Juramentum Regis*, cited before, *servabis ecclesiae Dei, clero, et populo, pacem ex integro secundum vires tuas*; if *ex integro*, then against all disturbers of the general peace amongst them, most chiefly, in my judgment, against dangerous foreigners.

Bracton and Glanvill, in the front of their books, published that the King must have arms as well as laws; arms and strength against foreign enemies, laws for doing justice at home. Certainly if he must have these two necessities, he must be enabled with means for them, and that of himself, not dependent *ex aliorum arbitrio*; for it is *regula juris, lex est, quando quis aliquid alicui concedit, concedit et id sine quo res ipsa esse non potest*.

3. Though I have gone already very high, I shall go yet to a higher contemplation of the fundamental policy of our laws: which is this, that the King of mere right ought to have, and the people of mere duty are bound to yield unto the King, supply for the defence of the kingdom. And when the Parliament itself doth grant supply in that case, it is not merely a benevolence of the people, but therein they do an act of justice and duty to the King. I know the most solemn form of Parliament, and of the humble expression of the Commons, of their hearty affection and goodwill to their King, in tendering to him their bills of subsidies or fifteenths.

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4. I confess that by the fundamental law of England the Parliament is *commune concilium regis et regni*, that it is the greatest, the most honorable and supreme court in the kingdom; that no man ought to think any dishonorable thing of it: yet give me leave to say that it is but a *concilium*; to say so is no dishonor to it: the King may call it, prorogue it, dissolve it, at his pleasure; and whatsoever the King doth therein, is always to be taken for just and necessary. We must consider that it is a great body, moves slowly; sudden despatches cannot be expected in it. Besides, though the Parliament can-

not err, parliament-men may *de facto*; every particular member of the House hath his free voice; some of them may chance to make scruples, where there is no cause; it is possible some of them may have sinister ends; these things breed delays, so they may disturbances.—I would to God the late woful experience of this kingdom had not verified these speculations. Yea, there have been, in former times, censures of Parliaments themselves: the Good Parliament, *temp.* Ed. 3, *parliamentum indoctorum*, *temp.* Hen. 4, and in the same King's time, if we believe my Lord Coke, 11, fo. 113, Brangwit, *id est*, the White-Crow Act. These matters are considerable in such cases as ours is. Wherein apparently *Mora trahit periculum*, and to follow the rule, *Festina lente*, is most dangerous.

5. The point of *retentio domini maris* (which is in the case) is not of an ordinary consideration; for, besides the ancient inheritance and right which the crown of England hath in it, it is obvious to every judgment, that in the continuance or not continuance of it to the crown, not only the *bene esse*, but even the *esse* itself of the commonwealth doth consist; and therefore it behoveth the subjects *accelerare* to the tuition of it: slowness is an argument of stupidity, or want of that sensibleness of the diminution of that right which every subject ought of right, and hath a concerning reason, to propose to himself.

V. ACT DECLARING THE ILLEGALITY OF SHIP-MONEY. August 7, 1641.

An Act for the declaring unlawful and void the late proceedings touching Ship-money, and for the vacating of all records and process concerning the same.

I. Whereas divers writs of late time issued under the Great Seal of England, commonly called Ship-writs, for the charging of the Ports, Towns, Cities, Boroughs, and Counties of this realm respectively, to provide and furnish certain ships for His Majesty's service; and whereas upon the execution of the same writs and returns of certioraries thereupon made, and the sending the same by *Mittimus* into the Court of Exchequer, process hath been thence made against sundry persons pretended to be charged by way of contribution for the making up of certain sums assessed for the providing of the said ships; and in especial in Easter Term in the thirteenth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord the King that now is, a Writ of *Scire*

facias was awarded out of the Court of Exchequer to the then Sheriff of Buckinghamshire against John Hampden, Esquire to appear and show cause why he should not be charged with a certain sum so assessed upon him: upon whose appearance and demurrer to the proceedings therein the Barons of the Exchequer adjourned the same case into the Exchequer Chamber, where it was solemnly argued divers days; and at length it was there agreed by the greater part of all the Justices of the Courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas, and of the Barons of the Exchequer there assembled, that the said John Hampden should be charged with the said sum so as aforesaid assessed on him; the main grounds and reasons of the said Justices and Barons which so agreed being, that when the good and safety of the kingdom in general is concerned, and the whole kingdom in danger, the King might by writ under the Great Seal of England command all the subjects of this his kingdom at their charge to provide and furnish such number of ships with men, victuals and munition, and for such time as the King should think fit for the defence and safeguard of the kingdom from such danger and peril, and that by law the King might compel the doing thereof in case of refusal or refractoriness, and that the King is the sole judge both of the danger, and when and how the same is to be prevented and avoided; according to which grounds and reasons all the Justices of the said Courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas, and the said Barons of the Exchequer, having been formerly consulted with by His Majesty's command, had set their hands to an extrajudicial opinion expressed to the same purpose, which opinion with their names thereunto was also by His Majesty's command enrolled in the Courts of Chancery, King's Bench, Common Pleas and Exchequer, and likewise entered among the remembrances of the Court of Star Chamber, and according to the said agreement of the said Justices and Barons, judgment was given by the Barons of the Exchequer that the said John Hampden should be charged with the said sum so assessed on him: and, whereas some other actions and process depend, and have depended in the said Court of Exchequer and in some other Courts, against other persons for the like kind of charge grounded upon the said writs commonly called Ship-writs; all which writs and proceedings as aforesaid were utterly against the law of the land: be it therefore declared and enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty and the Lords and the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that the said charge imposed upon

the subject for the providing and furnishing of ships commonly called Ship-money, and the said extrajudicial opinion of the said Justices and Barons and the said writs, and every of them, and the said agreement or opinion of the greater part of the said Justices and Barons, and the said judgment given against the said John Hampden, were and are contrary to and against the laws and statutes of this realm, the right of property, the liberty of the subjects, former resolutions in Parliament, and the Petition of Right made in the third year of the reign of His Majesty that now is.

II. And it is further declared and enacted by the authority aforesaid that all and every the particulars prayed or desired in the said Petition of Right shall from henceforth be put in execution accordingly, and shall be firmly and strictly holden and observed as in the same Petition they are prayed and expressed; and that all and every the records and remembrances of all and every the judgment, enrolments, entry, and proceedings as aforesaid, and all and every the proceedings whatsoever, upon or by pretext or color of any of the said writs commonly called Ship-writs, and all and every the dependents on any of them, shall be deemed and adjudged, to all intents, constructions, and purposes to be utterly void and disannulled; and that all and every the said judgment, enrolments, entries, proceedings and dependents of what kind soever, shall be vacated and cancelled in such manner and form as records used to be that are vacated.

The imposition of ship-money in 1634 was one of the measures resorted to by Charles I. to replenish his treasury during the period when he was attempting to carry on the government without Parliament. A fleet was needed for the defence of the country at a time when the French and Dutch navies were so strong. There was an ancient precedent for the provision of ships for the king's use by the port towns of the kingdom, and for the furnishing of their equipment by the maritime counties. "The precedents dated from times when no permanent fleet existed, and when sea warfare could only be waged by vessels lent for the moment by the various ports. But they were seized as a means of equipping a permanent navy without cost to the exchequer; the first demand of ships was soon commuted into a demand of money for the provision of ships; and the writs for the payment of ship-money which were issued to London and other coast towns were enforced by fine and imprisonment." Presently, giving up appeal to precedents, it was determined to find a permanent revenue in the conversion of the ship-money, before levied only on ports and maritime counties, into a general tax imposed upon the whole country. There was immediate resistance on constitutional grounds. "To levy direct taxation to meet extraordinary expenditure without recourse to Parliament was not only contrary to the Petition of Right, but was certain, if the system was

allowed to establish itself, to enable the king to supply himself with all that he might need even in time of war without calling Parliament at all." John Hampden was the great leader of the resistance. He refused to pay the tax; and the matter came to trial before the twelve judges in the Exchequer Chamber in 1637-38. The arguments in all their detail are published, and the law student can consult them; but a fair idea of the position of each party may be gathered from the extracts here given—from Gardiner's "Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution"—from the speech of Oliver St. John, who was one of Hampden's counsel, and from the argument of Sir Robert Berkeley. Ultimately, two judges only pronounced in Hampden's favor, though three followed them on technical grounds; but the specious flimsiness of the majority argument was so obvious that the result was a popular triumph for Hampden. "Legal and temperate as his course had been, he had roused England to a sense of the danger to her freedom, and forced into light the real character of the royal claims." "The eyes of all men," owns Clarendon, "were fixed upon him as their *Pater Patriæ* and the pilot who must steer the vessel through the tempests and storms that threatened it."

There is no adequate life of Hampden. Lord Nugent's "Memorials of Hampden" is the principal biography; and there is a good brief biography by Forster, in his "Statesmen of the Commonwealth." Lord Nugent's work was the object of much criticism,—*e.g.*, by Southey in the *Quarterly Review*; and it was the occasion of Macaulay's essay, the best essay upon Hampden which has been written. Disraeli's "Eliot, Hampden, and Pym" grew out of the Nugent controversy. The article on Hampden, by C. H. Firth, in the "Dictionary of National Biography," is full of valuable information. The article in the "Encyclopædia Britannica" is by Gardiner, whose treatment of Hampden's public life in his History of England is the most careful and thorough which we have. Green's pages upon Hampden, like his whole section upon Puritan England, are admirable.

PUBLISHED BY

THE DIRECTORS OF THE OLD SOUTH WORK,
Old South Meeting-house, Boston, Mass.



Old South Leaflets.

No. 61.

Pym's
Speech against
Strafford.

Pym, John

SPEECH TO THE LORDS IN PARLIAMENT, SITTING IN WESTMINSTER
HALL, THE 12TH OF APRIL, 1641, AFTER THE RECAPITULATION OF
THE CHARGE OF TREASON AGAINST THE EARL OF STRAFFORD.

My Lords,

There hath been much time spent to prove our charge, and your Lordships have heard my Lord of Strafford's defence with as much patience. You have also heard our evidence summed up, whereby we have proved that he hath by traitorous words, counsels, and actions traitorously endeavored to subvert the fundamental laws of England and Ireland, and, instead thereof, to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government against law. This, my Lords, is that poisonous arrow that hath tainted his blood, this is that cup of deadly wine that hath intoxicated him.

My Lords, it comes to my share to show you how mischievous an act of treason it is by that law that he hath appealed unto, which is the supreme law, (to wit) public good; for his position was this, that *salus populi* is *suprema lex*. All laws are derived from this as its fountain, and end here as its proper centre. And those actions that are opposite to this are against law.

First, my Lords, it is such an offence as comprehends all offences, such a treason as comprehends all treasons.

The earth, my Lords, is a seminary of all flowers, so is this a seminary of all offences.

My Lords, this law puts a difference betwixt good and evil: take away the law, my Lords, and Nature becomes a law to itself. As pride will be a law, lust will be a law, rapine a law,

treason a law, which laws have ruled in Ireland ever since my Lord came thither.

Take away the King's protection from the people, and you take away the people's allegiance to the King. Prerogative is the bounds of liberty; and, my Lords, they must not contest one against another.

My Lords, I beseech you consider, you have all under this custody; and, if you take away this, you take away your goods, liberties, and lives.

My Lord he saith that Ireland was a conquered nation. Why, were not all nations conquered? England, Wales, etc.?

The next is this: that it is an offence full of danger to the King's person and crown, it nourisheth dissension and tumults in a people. If you consider the histories of the nations under arbitrary government, you shall find them full of cruelty and bloody massacres; yea, if you please to peruse our English histories, you shall find that, when arbitrary government was set up, how many kings fell by cruel and bloody hands, which is fearful to relate.

Thirdly, my Lords, it is dangerous to the King: first, in respect of his honor; secondly, in respect of his profit; and, thirdly, in respect of his greatness: yet all these have been put on upon the face of this treason as so many vizards. Can it be, my Lords, for the King's honor, to have his ministers to lay all the fault upon the King? To kill, to imprison, to use rapine, to levy war against his people, and to ruin the State, and then all these dishonorable acts to be laid on the King? Is this for the King's honor?

Secondly, it is contrary to his profit; for, if there be not an affectionate supply from the people to the King, he can never grow in his revenue.

Nay, this, my Lords, is the King's most certain revenue, that issues from the affection of his people; for other revenue, as lands or the like, are subject to many inconveniences, to many subtractions and pensions, but this is free and wholly to himself. These fourteen years past, since there hath been an unhappy cessation of Parliamentary proceedings, the King hath had less revenue, and it doth him less good.

Nay, there hath been more wanting to the King than many years before. Again, it is unprofitable, and that is worse, for the King lost by it; for it hath cost him these two years more than it cost Queen Elizabeth in all her wars in Ireland and Spain,—yea, I fear, more than is to be repaired in an age.

Thirdly, in point of greatness: the world is a society of

kingdoms, and it is not enough for a King to be great at home, but to equal his fellow princes abroad; nay, to be above them in honor and majesty, in riches and glory.

But, my Lords, these counsels of late that have been given his Majesty have rendered him contemptible to his enemies, useless to his distressed friends, and, had they not been prevented, in time would have made him uncapable of any design at home or abroad.

A fourth consideration is this, my Lords: it is destructive to wealth and valor; it corrupts our peace, and in peace makes us have the malignities of war; and for wealth who will venture his goods, life, his liberty, in the way of trading and commerce, when he knows not upon the return of it whether it be his own or not?

Nay, my Lords, it imbaseth the spirits and valor of a nation when they must stand in fear of pilloring, scaffolding, and the like punishments, it makes men to be of base spirits.

Now, my Lords, to imbase the King's coin, if it be but sixpence or twelpence, 'tis treason by the law, and a man must die for it. What is it, then, to imbase our spirits, my Lords? Truly, it is a matter of great importance.

Fifthly, it doth disable the King and makes him unfit to deal with foreign enemies; for every one thinks to slip his neck out of the collar when he shall be forced to it.

The sixth consideration is that it is against the covenant betwixt the King and his people.

Before, my Lords, I spoke of a legal oath, but now I speak of a personal, for we swear our allegiance to him, and he the maintenance of our laws to us; he is our husband, and we his wife; he is our father, and we his children; he is to maintain our liberties, and we his dignities and our duties.

And, my Lords, Justice Thorpe was condemned and executed for breaking the King's oath. My Lords, he broke not his own oath, nor did the King break his oath; and yet for violating that oath that the King had taken to his subjects he suffered.

Ah, what an unfortunate man, then, is the prisoner at the bar, that hath in all his counsels, in all his words, in all his actions, broken the King's oath, and as much as in him lay, violently persuaded the King to countenance him in all his actions!

The seventh consideration is this, my Lords: it is against the end of government, for the end of government is to preserve men in their estates, lives, and liberties; but an arbitrary power destroys all this. The end of government is to advance

virtue and goodness and to punish vice : but this cherisheth all disorder.

Now, my Lords, I come to show the vanity of his excuses that he hath made for himself.

The first is the liberty of giving counsel, being a counsellor. True, my Lords, he hath this liberty, but it's bounded within its lists, and it must be such a counsel as must stand with the sacred Majesty, and the prosperity and weal of his subjects ; for, if counsel be bad, it poisons the consciences of princes, it infects their ears, for all government proceeds from the prince, as from a fountain. Now, if the fountain be poisoned, how can the streams be free ?

A second shift is that he hopes your Lordships will be careful to secure your posterity and not to admit of this as treason.

My Lords, I know your Lordships will be careful to secure yourselves, but by your virtues, not by your vices.

The third excuse is the goodness of his intentions. Truly, my Lords, good and evil lie close together, not easily to be discerned, if they be natural corruptions ; but for murders, adultery, rapines, and treasons, these are so monstrous that they may easily be distinguished.

And I cannot be persuaded that ever he intended well that acted so ill.

The fourth excuse is the King's necessities.

My Lords, this necessity came from his own counsels.

A fifth excuse is that it was for the King's honor and the maintenance of the King's power.

My Lords, it hath been declared unto you that the King's power doth not extend to anything against law by which he hath sworn to rule us, and to maintain our liberties and privileges for us ; and this hath been declared by five Parliaments, and also will appear in the case of the Petition of Right, and in the case of ship-money.

A sixth is that he advised the King to do it with moderation and reparation.

My Lords, this is a contradiction ; for there can be no reparation for this.

The seventh excuse is that no horrid facts did follow his counsels. Truly, my Lords, we thank God, his sacred Majesty, and his wise counsel for that, or else God knows what fearful things would have befallen us ; nor are we free from it as yet.

To conclude now, my Lords, give me leave to entreat you to consider the treasons ordinarily practised. When the act is done, they cease ; as in killing that noble King of France, and

the several plots against Queen Elizabeth ; but this treason of my Lord of Strafford's is a standing treason, which, when it had been done, it had been permanent from generation to generation.

And now, my Lords, these laws that he would have overthrown must now be his judges, and he is to be judged by law ; and that law will have mark enough of it to describe it, for it is a law against such as break the fundamental law of the kingdom.

And, my Lords, give me leave to inform you that under favor this is not to make a new way for blood ; nor is the crime of treason in my Lord of Strafford the less because none would venture upon such a horrid treason in two hundred and forty years.

But, my Lords, for the making of our charge good by law, as we have fully proved it by testimony, we must resort to counsel with the House of Commons, and trust to your Lordships' justice.

After eleven years without parliaments, most of the members [of the new parliament] were new. But they had not to seek a leader. They had one whom all accepted in John Pym. Pym had been second only to Sir John Eliot as a leader of the patriot party in the reign of James. He was one of the twelve deputies of the Commons when James cried, with insight as well as spleen, "Set twal chairs : here be twal kings coming." He had stood among the foremost of those "evil-tempered spirits" who protested that the liberties of parliament were not the favors of the crown, but the birthright of Englishmen, and who for so doing were imprisoned without law. He had resolved, as he said, that he would rather suffer for speaking the truth than the truth should suffer for want of his speaking. His greatness had increased in the struggle against Charles I. He had been one of the chief managers of the impeachment of Buckingham ; and, for that service to public justice, he had again suffered a glorious imprisonment. He had accused Manwaring ; he had raised a voice of power against the Romanizing intrigues of Laud. In those days he and Strafford were dear friends, and fellow-soldiers in the same cause. But, when the death of Buckingham left the place of First Minister vacant, Strafford sought an interview with Pym at Greenwich, and when they met began to talk against dangerous courses, and to

hint at advantageous overtures to be made by the court. Pym cut him short: "You need not use all this art to tell me that you have a mind to leave us. But remember what I tell you: you are going to be undone. And remember also that, though you leave us, I will never leave you while your head is upon your shoulders!" Such, at least, was the story current in the succeeding age of the last interview between the Great Champion of Freedom and the Great Apostate.

Pym was a Somersetshire gentleman of good family; and it was from good families, such families at least as do not produce Jacobins, that most of the leaders of this revolution sprang. I note it, not to claim for principle the patronage of birth and wealth, but to show how strong that principle must have been which could thus move birth and wealth away from their natural bias. It is still true, not in the ascetic, but in the moral sense, that it is hard for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven; and when we see rich men entering into the kingdom of heaven, hazarding the enjoyment of wealth for the sake of principle, we may know that it is no common age. Oxford was the place of Pym's education; and there he was distinguished not only by solid acquirements, but by elegant accomplishments, so that an Oxford poet calls him the favorite of Apollo. High culture is now rather in disgrace in some quarters, and not without a color of reason, as unbracing the sinews of action and destroying sympathy with the people. Nevertheless, the universities produced the great statesmen and the great warriors of the Commonwealth. If the Oxford of Pym, of Hampden, and of Blake, the Oxford of Wycliffe, the Oxford where in still earlier times those principles were nursed which gave us the Great Charter and the House of Commons,—if this Oxford, I say, now seems by her political bearing to dishonor learning, and by an ignoble choice does a wrong to the nation which Lancashire is called upon to redress,—believe me, it is not the University which thus offends, but a power alien to the University and alien to learning.

It is another point of difference between the English and the French revolutions that the leaders of the English revolution were, as a rule, good husbands and fathers, in whom domestic affection was the root of public virtue. Pym, after being for some time in public life, married, and after his marriage lived six years in retirement,—a part of training as necessary as action to the depth of character and the power of sustained thought which are the elements of greatness. At the end of

the six years his wife died, and he took no other wife but his country.

There were many elements in the patriot party, united at first, afterward severed from each other by the fierce winnowing-fan of the struggle, and marking by their successive ascendancy the changing phases of the revolution: Constitutional Monarchists, aristocratic Republicans, Republicans thoroughgoing, Protestant Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Independents, and in the abyss beneath them all the Anabaptists, the Fifth Monarchy men, and the Levellers. Pym was a friend of constitutional monarchy in politics, a Protestant Episcopalian in religion; against a despot, but for a king; against the tyranny and the political power of the bishops, but satisfied with that form of church government. He was no fanatic and no ascetic. He was genial, social, even convivial. His enemies held him up to the hatred of the sectaries as a man of pleasure. As the statesman and orator of the less extreme party and of the first period of the revolution, he is the English counterpart of Mirabeau, so far as a Christian patriot can be the counterpart of a Voltairean debauchee.

Nor is he altogether unlike Mirabeau in the style of his eloquence. Pym's speeches, of course, are seventeenth-century speeches; stately in diction, somewhat like homilies in their divisions, full of learning, full of Scripture (which then, be it remembered, was a fresh spring of new thought), full of philosophic passages which might have come from the pen of Hooker or of Bacon. But they sometimes strike the great strokes for which Mirabeau was famous.

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The English Revolution was a revolution of principle, but of principle couched in precedent. What the philosophic *salon* was to the French leaders of opinion, that the historical and antiquarian library of Sir Robert Cotton was to the English. And of the group of illustrious men who gathered in that library, none had been a deeper student of its treasures than Pym. His speeches and state papers are the proof.—*Goldwin Smith*.

There is no thorough life of Pym; but there are excellent brief biographies in Forster's "Statesmen of the Commonwealth" and Goldwin Smith's "Three English Statesmen."

The article on Pym in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* is by Gardiner, in whose history of England, as also in Green's history, will be found full accounts of Pym's public services. Forster's "The Debates on the Grand Remonstrance" and "Arrest of the Five Members" relate to events in which Pym was a central figure. In Professor Charles K. Adams's "Representative English Orations" is contained Pym's great speech on the subject of grievances, in the House of Commons, April 5, 1640. "The Grand Remonstrance," which was laid before the House of Commons by Pym, is published among the Old South Leaflets, No. 24.

PUBLISHED BY

THE DIRECTORS OF THE OLD SOUTH WORK,
Old South Meeting-house, Boston, Mass.



Cromwell's Second Speech.

Gt. Brit. Sovereigns, 1649-1658
(Oliver Cromwell)

SPEECH AT THE OPENING OF THE FIRST PROTECTORATE PARLIAMENT,
SEPTEMBER 4, 1654.

GENTLEMEN,—You are met here on the greatest occasion that, I believe, England ever saw; having upon your shoulders the Interests of Three great Nations with the territories belonging to them;—and truly, I believe I may say it without any hyperbole, you have upon your shoulders the Interest of all the Christian People in the world. And the expectation is, that I should let you know, as far as I have cognizance of it, the occasion of your assembling together at this time.

It hath been very well hinted to you this day,* that you come hither to settle the Interests above mentioned: for you, work here, in the issue and consequences of it, *will* extend so far, even to all Christian people. In the way and manner of my speaking to you, I shall study plainness; and to speak to you what is truth, and what is upon my heart, and what will in some measure reach to these great concernments.

After so many changes and turnings, which this Nation hath labored under,—to have such a day of hope as this is, and such a door of hope opened by God to us, truly I believe, some months since, would have been beyond all our thoughts!—I confess it would have been worthy of such a meeting as this is, To have remembered † that which was the rise of, and gave the first beginning to, all these Troubles which have been upon this Nation: and to have given you a series of the Transactions,—not of men, but of the Providence of God, all along unto our late changes: as also the ground of our first undertaking to oppose that usurpation and tyranny which was upon us, both in civils and spirituals; and the several grounds particularly ap-

* In the Sermon just heard.

† Commemorated.

plicable to the several changes that have been. But I have two or three reasons which divert me from such a way of proceeding at this time.

If I should have gone in that way, then that which lies upon my heart as to these things,—which is so written there that if I would blot it out I could not,—would itself have spent this day: the providences and dispensations of God have been so stupendous. As David said in the like case, *Psalm* xl. 5, “Many, O Lord my God, are thy wonderful works which thou hast done, and thy thoughts which are to-us-ward: they cannot be reckoned up in order unto thee: if I would declare and speak of them, they are more than can be numbered.”—Truly, another reason, unexpected by me, you had to-day in the Sermon: * you had much recapitulation of Providence; much allusion to a state and dispensation in respect of discipline and correction, of mercies and deliverances, to a state and dispensation similar to ours,—to, in truth, the only parallel of God’s dealing with us that I know in the world, which was largely and wisely held forth to you this day: To Israel’s bringing-out of Egypt through a wilderness by many signs and wonders, towards a Place of Rest,—I say *towards* it. And that having been so well remonstrated to you this day, is another argument why I shall not trouble you with a recapitulation of those things;—though they are things which I hope will never be forgotten, because written in better Books than those of paper;—written, I am persuaded, in the heart of every good man!

But a third reason was this: What I judge to be the end of your meeting, the great end, which was likewise remembered to you this day; to wit, Healing and Settling. The remembering of Transactions too particularly, perhaps instead of healing,—at least in the hearts of many of you,—might set the wound fresh a bleeding. And I must profess this unto you, whatever thoughts pass upon me: That if this day, if this meeting, prove *not* healing, what shall we do! But, as I said before, I trust it is in the minds of you all, and much more in the mind of God, to cause healing. It must be first in His mind:—and He being pleased to put it into yours, this will be a Day indeed, and such a Day as generations to come will bless you for!—I say, for this and the other reasons, I have forborne to make a particular remembrance and enumeration of things, and of the manner of the Lord’s bringing us through so many changes and turnings as have passed upon us.

* This Sermon of Goodwin’s is not in the collected Edition of his Works; not among the King’s Pamphlets; not in the Bodleian Library. We gather what the subject was, from this Speech, and know nothing of it otherwise.

Howbeit, I think it will be more than necessary to let you know, at least so well as I may, in what condition this Nation, or rather these Nations were, when the present Government* was undertaken. And for order's sake: It's very natural to consider what our condition was, in Civils; and then also in Spirituals.

What was our condition! Every man's hand almost was against his brother;—at least his heart was; little regarding anything that should cement, and might have a tendency in it to cause us to grow into one. All the dispensations of God; His terrible ones, when He met us in the way of His judgment in a Ten-years Civil War; and His merciful ones: they did not, they did not work upon us! No. But we had our humors and interests;—and indeed I fear our humors went for more with us than even our interests. Certainly, as it falls out in such cases, our passions were more than our judgments.—Was not everything almost grown arbitrary? Who of us knew where or how to have right done him, without some obstruction or other intervening? Indeed we were almost grown arbitrary in everything.

What was the face that was upon our affairs as to the Interest of the nation! As to the Authority in the Nation; to the Magistracy; to the Ranks and Orders of men,—whereby England hath been known for hundreds of years? A nobleman, a gentleman, a yeoman; the distinction of these: that is a good interest of the Nation, and a great one! The natural Magistracy of the Nation, was it not almost trampled under foot, under despite and contempt, by men of Levelling principles? I beseech you, For the orders of men and ranks of men, did not that Levelling principle tend to the reducing of all to an equality? Did it consciously think to do so; or did it only unconsciously practise towards that for property and interest? At all events, what was the purport of it but to make the Tenant as liberal a fortune as the Landlord? Which, I think, if obtained, would not have lasted long! The men of that principle, after they had served their own turns, would *then* have cried-up property and interest fast enough!—This instance is instead of many. And that the thing did and might well extend far, is manifest; because it was a pleasing voice to all Poor Men, and truly not unwelcome to all Bad Men. To my thinking, this is a consideration which, in your endeavors after settlement, you will be so well minded of, that I might have spared it here: but let that pass.—

* Protectorate.

Now as to Spirituals. Indeed in Spiritual things the case was more sad and deplorable still ;— and that was told to you this day eminently. The prodigious blasphemies ; contempt of God and Christ, denying of Him, contempt of Him and His ordinances, and of the Scriptures : a spirit visibly acting those things foretold by Peter and Jude ; yea, those things spoken of by Paul to Timothy ! Paul declaring some things to be worse than the Antichristian state (of which he had spoken in the *First to Timothy*, Chapter fourth, verses first and second, under the title of the Latter times), tells us what should be the lot and portion of the *Last Times*. He says (*Second to Timothy*, Chapter third, verses second, third, fourth), “In the Last Days perilous times shall come ; men shall be lovers of their own selves, covetous, boasters, proud, blasphemers, disobedient to parents, unthankful,” and so on. But in speaking of the Antichristian state, he told us (*First to Timothy*, Chapter fourth, verses first and second), that “in the *latter* days” that state shall come in ; not the *last* days, but the *latter*,—wherein “there shall be a departing from the faith, and a giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils, speaking lies in hypocrisy,” and so on. This is only his description of the *latter* times, or those of Antichrist ; and we are given to understand that there are *last* times coming, which will be worse ! — And surely it may be feared, these are *our* times. For when men forget all rules of Law and Nature, and break all the bonds that fallen man hath on him ; obscuring the remainder of the image of God in their nature, which they cannot blot out, and yet shall endeavor to blot out, “having a form of godliness without the power,”—surely these are sad tokens of the last times !

And indeed the character wherewith this spirit and principle is described in that place of Scripture, is so legible and visible, that he who runs may read it to be amongst us. For by such “the grace of God is turned into wantonness,” and Christ and the Spirit of God made a cloak for all villany and spurious apprehensions. And though nobody will own these things publicly as to practice, the things being so abominable and odious ; yet the consideration how this principle extends itself, and whence it had its rise, makes me to think of a Second sort of Men, tending in the same direction ; who, it’s true, as I said, will not practise nor own these things, yet can tell the Magistrate “That he hath nothing to do with men holding such notions : These, forsooth, are matters of conscience and opinion : they are matters of Religion ; what hath the Magistrate to do with these things ? He is to look to the outward man, not

to the inward,"—and so forth. And truly it so happens that though these things do break out visibly to all, yet the principle wherewith these things are carried on so forbids the Magistrate to meddle with them, that it hath hitherto kept the offenders from punishment.

Such considerations, and pretensions to "liberty of conscience," what are they leading us towards! Liberty of Conscience, and Liberty of the Subject,—two as glorious things to be contended for as any that God hath given us; yet both these abused for the patronizing of villanies! Insomuch that it hath been an ordinary thing to say, and in dispute to affirm, "That the restraining of such pernicious notions was not in the Magistrate's power; he had nothing to do with it. Not so much as the printing of a Bible in the Nation for the use of the People was competent to the Magistrate, lest it should be imposed upon the consciences of men,"—for "they would receive the same traditionally and implicitly from the Magistrate, if it were thus received!" The afore-mentioned abominations did thus swell to this height among us.

So likewise the axe was laid to the root of the Ministry.* It was Antichristian, it was Babylonish, said they. It suffered under such a judgment, that the truth is, as the extremity was great according to the former system,† I wish it prove not as great according to this. The former extremity we suffered under was, That no man, though he had never so good a testimony, though he had received gifts from Christ, might preach, unless ordained. So now I think we are at the other extremity, when many affirm, That he who is ordained hath a nullity, or Antichristianism, stamped thereby upon his calling; so that he ought not to preach, or not be heard.—I wish it may not be too justly said, That there was severity and sharpness in our old system! Yea, too much of an imposing spirit in matters of conscience; a spirit unchristian enough in any times, most unfit for these times;—denying liberty of conscience to men who have earned it with their blood; who have earned civil liberty, and religious also, for those who would thus impose upon them!—

We may reckon among these our Spiritual evils, an evil that hath more refinedness in it, more color for it, and hath deceived more people of integrity than the rest have done;—for few have been caught by the former mistakes except such as have apostatized from their holy profession, such as, being corrupt in their consciences, have been forsaken by God, and left to such

* Preaching Clergy.

† He alludes to the Presbyterian system.

noisome opinions. But, I say, there is another error of more refined sort; which many honest people whose hearts are sincere, many of them belonging to God, have fallen into: and that is the mistaken notion of the Fifth Monarchy —

— Fifth Monarchy. A thing pretending more spirituality than anything else. A notion I hope we all honor, and wait, and hope for the fulfilment of: That Jesus Christ *will* have a time to set up His Reign in our hearts; by subduing those corruptions and lusts and evils that are there; which now reign more in the world than, I hope, in due time they shall do. And when more fulness of the Spirit is poured forth to subdue iniquity and bring-in everlasting righteousness, then will the approach of that glory be. The carnal divisions and contentions among Christians, so common, are not the symptoms of that Kingdom!—But for men, on this principle, to betitle themselves, that they are the only men to rule kingdoms, govern nations, and give laws to people, and determine of property and liberty and everything else,—upon such a pretension as this is:—truly they had need to give clear manifestations of God's presence with them, before wise men will receive or submit to their conclusions! Nevertheless, as many of these men have good meanings, which I hope in my soul they have, it will be the wisdom of all knowing and experienced Christians to do as Jude saith. Jude, when he reckoned-up those horrible things, done upon pretences, and haply by some upon mistakes: “Of some,” says he, “have compassion, making a difference”; others save “with fear, pulling them out of the fire.” I fear they will give too often opportunity for this exercise! But I hope the same will be for their good. If men do but so much as pretend for justice and righteousness, and be of peaceable spirits, and will manifest this, let them be the subjects of the Magistrate's encouragement. And if the magistrate, by punishing visible miscarriages, save them by that discipline, God having ordained him for that end.—I hope it will evidence *love* and not hatred, so to punish where there is cause.

Indeed this is that which doth most declare the danger of that spirit. For if these were but notions,—I mean these instances I have given you of dangerous doctrines both in Civil things and Spiritual; if, I say, they were but notions, they were best let alone. Notions will hurt none but those that have them. But when they come to such practices as telling us, for instance, That Liberty and Property are not the badges of the Kingdom of Christ; when they tell us, not that we are to regu-

late Law, but that Law is to be abrogated, indeed subverted ; and perhaps wish to bring in the Judaical Law —

— Judaical Law ; instead of our known laws settled among us : this is worthy of every Magistrate's consideration. Especially where every stone is turned to bring in confusion. I think, I say, this will be worthy of the Magistrate's consideration.

Whilst these things were in the midst of us ; and whilst the Nation was rent and torn in spirit and principle from one end to the other, after this sort and manner I have now told you ; family against family, husband against wife, parents against children ; and nothing in the hearts and minds of men but "Overturn, overturn, overturn !" (a Scripture phrase very much abused, and applied to justify unpeaceable practices by all men of discontented spirits),— the common Enemy sleeps not : our adversaries in civil and religious respects did take advantage of these distractions and divisions, and did practise accordingly in the three Nations of England, Scotland and Ireland. We know very well that Emissaries of the Jesuits never came in such swarms as they have done since those things * were set on foot. And I tell you that divers Gentlemen here can bear witness with me How that they, the Jesuits, have had a Consistory abroad which rules all the affairs of things in England, from an Archbishop down to the other dependents upon him. And they had fixed in England,— of which we are able to produce the particular Instruments in most of the limits of their Cathedrals or pretended Dioceses,— an Episcopal Power with Archdeacons, &c. And had persons authorized to exercise and distribute those things ; who pervert and deceive the people. And all this, while we were in that sad, and as I said deplorable condition.

And in the mean time all endeavors possible were used to hinder the work of God in Ireland, and the progress of the work of God in Scotland ; by continual intelligences and correspondences, both at home and abroad, from hence into Ireland, and from hence into Scotland. Persons were stirred up, from our divisions and discomposure of affairs, to do all they could to ferment the War in both these places. To add yet to our misery, whilst we were in this condition, we were in a foreign War. Deeply engaged in War with the Portuguese ; whereby our Trade ceased : the evil consequences by that War were manifest and very considerable. And not only this, but we had a War with Holland ; consuming our treasure ; occa-

* Speculations of the Levellers, Fifth-Monarchists, &c. &c.

sioning a vast burden upon the people. A War that cost this Nation full as much as the whole Taxes came unto; the Navy being a Hundred-and-sixty Ships, which cost this Nation above 100,000*l.* a-month; besides the contingencies, which would make it 120,000*l.* That very one War did engage us to so great a charge.—At the same time also we were in a War with France. The advantages that were taken of the discontents and divisions among ourselves did also ferment that War, and at least hinder us of an honorable peace; every man being confident we could not hold out long. And surely they did not calculate amiss, if the Lord had not been exceedingly gracious to us! I say, at the same time we had a War with France. And besides the sufferings in respect to the Trade of the Nation, it's most evident that the Purse of the Nation could not have been able much longer to bear it,—by reason of the advantages taken by other States to improve their own, and spoil our Manufacture of Cloth, and hinder the vent thereof; which is the great staple commodity of this Nation. Such was our condition: spoiled in our Trade, and we at this vast expense; thus dissettled at home, and having these engagements abroad.

Things being so,—and I am persuaded it is not hard to convince every person here they were so,—what a heap of confusions were upon these poor Nations! And either things must have been left to sink into the miseries these premises would suppose, or else a remedy must be applied. A remedy hath been applied: that hath been this Government; a thing I shall say little unto. The thing is open and visible to be seen and read by all men; and therefore let it speak for itself. Only let me say this,—because I can speak it with comfort and confidence before a Greater than you all: That in the intention of it, as to the approving of our hearts to God, let men judge as they please, it was calculated with our best wisdom for the interest of the People. For the interest of the people alone, and for their good, without respect had to any other interest. And if that be not true I shall be bold to say again, Let it speak for itself. Truly I may,—I hope, humbly before God, and modestly before you,—say somewhat on the behalf of the Government. Not that I would discourse of the particular heads of it, but acquaint you a little with the effects it has had: and this not for ostentation's sake, but to the end I may at this time deal faithfully with you, and acquaint you with the state of things, and what proceedings have been entered into by this

Government, and what the state of our affairs is. This is the main end of my putting you to this trouble.

The Government hath had some things in desire ; and it hath done some things actually. It hath desired to reform the Laws. I say to reform them : — and for that end it hath called together Persons, without offence be it spoken, of as great ability and as great interest as are in these Nations, to consider how the Laws might be made plain and short, and less chargeable to the People ; how to lessen expense, for the good of the Nation. And those things are in preparation, and Bills prepared ; which in due time, I make no question, will be tendered to you. In the mean while there hath been care taken to put the administration of the Laws into the hands of just men ; men of the most known integrity and ability. The Chancery hath been reformed —

— hath been reformed ; I hope, to the satisfaction of all good men : and as for the things, or causes, depending there, which made the burden and work of the honorable Persons intrusted in those services too heavy for their ability, it hath referred many of them to those places where Englishmen love to have their rights tried, the Courts of Law at Westminster.

This Government hath, farther, endeavored to put a stop to that heady way (likewise touched of in our Sermon this day) of every man making himself a Minister and Preacher. It hath endeavored to settle a method for the approving and sanctioning of men of piety and ability to discharge that work. And I think I may say it hath committed the business to the trust of Persons, both of the Presbyterian and Independent judgments, of as known ability, piety and integrity, as any, I believe, this Nation hath. And I believe also that, in that care they have taken, they have labored to approve themselves to Christ, to the Nation and to their own consciences. And indeed I think, if there be anything of quarrel against them,—though I am not here to justify the proceedings of any,—it is that they, in fact, go upon such a character as the Scripture warrants : To put men into that great Employment, and to approve men for it, who are men that have “received gifts from Him that ascended up on high, and gave gifts” for the work of the Ministry, and for the edifying of the Body of Christ. The Government hath also taken care, we hope, for the expulsion of all those who may be judged any way unfit for this work ; who are scandalous, and the common scorn and contempt of that function.

One thing more this Government hath done : it hath been instrumental to call a free Parliament ; — which, blessed be God, we see here this day ! I say, a free Parliament. And that it may continue so, I hope is in the heart and spirit of every good man in England,—save such discontented persons as I have formerly mentioned. It's that which as I have desired above my life, so I shall desire to keep it above my life.

I did before mention to you the plunges we were in with respect to Foreign States ; by the War with Portugal, France, the Dutch, the Danes, and the little assurance we had from any of our neighbors round about. I perhaps forgot, but indeed it was a caution upon my mind, and I desire now it may be so understood, That if any good hath been done, it was the Lord, not we His poor instruments.

—I did instance the Wars ; which did exhaust your treasure ; and put you into such a condition that you must have sunk therein, if it had continued but a few months longer : this I can affirm, if strong probability may be a fit ground. And now you have, though it be not the first in time,—Peace with Swedenland ; an honorable peace ; through the endeavors of an honorable Person here present as the instrument. I say you have an honorable peace with a Kingdom which, not many years since, was much a friend to France, and lately perhaps inclinable enough to the Spaniard. And I believe you expect not much good from any of your Catholic neighbors ; nor yet that they would be very willing you should have a good understanding with your Protestant friends. Yet, thanks be to God, that Peace is concluded ; and as I said before, it is an honorable Peace.

You have a Peace with the Danes,—a State that lay contiguous to that part of this Island which hath given us the most trouble. And certainly if your enemies abroad be able to annoy you, it is likely they will take their advantage (where it best lies) to give you trouble from that country. But you have a Peace there, and an honorable one. Satisfaction to your Merchants' ships ; not only to their content, but to their rejoicing. I believe, you will easily know it is so,—an honorable peace. You have the Sound open ; which used to be obstructed. That which was and is the strength of this Nation, the Shipping, will now be supplied thence. And whereas you were glad to have anything of that kind at secondhand, you have now all manner of commerce there, and at as much freedom as the Dutch themselves, who used to be the carriers and

venders of it to us ; and at the same rates and tolls ;— and I think, by that Peace, the said rates now fixed-upon cannot be raised to you in future.

You have a Peace with the Dutch : a Peace unto which I shall say little, seeing it is so well known in the benefit and consequences thereof. And I think it was as desirable, and as acceptable to the spirit of this Nation, as any one thing that lay before us. And, as I believe nothing so much gratified our enemies as to see us at odds with that Commonwealth ; so I persuade myself nothing is of more terror or trouble to them than to see us thus reconciled. Truly as a Peace with the Protestant States hath much security in it, so it hath as much of honor and of assurance to the Protestant Interest abroad ; without which no assistance can be given thereunto. I wish it may be written upon our hearts to be zealous for that Interest ! For if ever it were like to come under a condition of suffering, it is now. In all the Emperor's Patrimonial Territories, the endeavor is to drive the Protestant part of the people out, as fast as is possible ; and they are necessitated to run to Protestant States to seek their bread. And by this conjunction of Interests, I hope you will be in a more fit capacity to help them. And it begets some reviving of their spirits, that you will help them as opportunity shall serve.

You have a Peace likewise with the Crown of Portugal ; which Peace, though it hung long in hand, yet is lately concluded. It is a Peace which, your Merchants make us believe, is of good concernment to their trade ; the rate of insurance to that Country having been higher, and so the profit which could bear such rate, than to other places. And one thing hath been obtained in this treaty, which never before was, since the Inquisition was set up there : That our people which trade thither have Liberty of Conscience,—liberty to worship in Chapels of their own.

Indeed, Peace is, as you were well told to-day, desirable with all men, as far as it may be had with conscience and honor ! We are upon a Treaty with France. And we may say this, That if God give us honor in the eyes of the Nations about us, we have reason to bless Him for it, and so to own it. And I dare say that there is not a Nation in Europe but is very willing to ask a good understanding with you.

I am sorry I am thus tedious : but I did judge that it was somewhat necessary to acquaint you with these things. And things being so,—I hope you will not be unwilling to hear a little again of the Sharp as well as of the Sweet ! And I

should not be faithful to you, nor to the interest of these Nations which you and I serve, if I did not let you know *all*.

As I said before, when this Government was undertaken, we were in the midst of those domestic divisions and animosities and scatterings; engaged also with those foreign enemies round about us, at such a vast charge,—120,000*l.* a-month for the very Fleet. Which sum was the very utmost penny of your Assessments. Ay; and then all your treasure was exhausted and spent when this Government was undertaken: all *accidental* ways of bringing-in treasure were, to a very inconsiderable sum, consumed;—the forfeited Lands sold, the sums on hand spent; Rents, Fee-farms, Delinquents' Lands, King's, Queen's, Bishops', Dean-and-Chapters' Lands, sold. These were *spent* when this Government was undertaken. I think it's my duty to let you know so much. And that's the reason why the Taxes do yet lie so heavy upon the People;—of which we have abated 30,000*l.* a-month for the next three months. Truly I thought it my duty to let you know, That though God hath dealt thus bountifully with you, yet these are but entrances and doors of hope. Whereby, through the blessing of God, you *may* enter into rest and peace. But you are not yet entered!

You were told to-day of a People brought out of Egypt towards the Land of Canaan; but through unbelief, murmuring, repining, and other temptations and sins wherewith God was provoked, they were fain to come back again, and linger many years in the Wilderness before they came to the Place of Rest. *We* are thus far, through the mercy of God. We have cause to take notice of it, That we are not brought into misery, not totally wrecked; but have, as I said before, a door of hope open. And I may say this to you: If the Lord's blessing and His presence go along with the management of affairs at this Meeting, you will be enabled to put the topstone to the work, and make the Nation happy. But this must be by knowing the true state of affairs! You are yet, like the People under Circumcision, but raw. Your Peaces are but newly made. And it's a maxim not to be despised, "Though peace be made, yet it's interest that keeps peace;"—and I hope you will not trust such peace except so far as you see interest upon it. But all settlement grows stronger by mere continuance. And therefore I wish that you may go forward, and not backward; and in brief that you may have the blessing of God upon your endeavors! It's one of the great ends of calling this Parliament, that the Ship of the Commonwealth may be brought into a safe harbor; which, I assure you, it will not be, without your counsel and advice.

You have great works upon your hands. You have Ireland to look unto. There is not much done to the Planting thereof, though some things leading and preparing for it are. It is a great business to settle the Government of that Nation upon fit terms, such as will bear that work through.—You have had laid before you some considerations, intimating your peace with several foreign States. But yet you have not made peace with *all*. And if they should see we do not manage our affairs with that wisdom which becomes us,—truly we may sink under disadvantages, for all that's done. And our enemies will have their eyes open, and be revived, if they see animosities amongst us; which indeed will be their great advantage.

I do therefore persuade you to a sweet, gracious and holy understanding of one another, and of your business. Concerning which you had so good counsel this day; which as it rejoiced my heart to hear, so I hope the Lord will imprint it upon your spirits,—wherein you shall have my Prayers.

Having said this, and perhaps omitted many other material things through the frailty of my memory, I shall exercise plainness and freeness with you; and say, That I have not spoken these things as one who assumes to himself dominion over you; but as one who doth resolve to be a fellow-servant with you to the interest of these great affairs, and of the People of these Nations. I shall trouble you no longer; but desire you to repair to your House, and to exercise your own liberty in the choice of a Speaker, that so you may lose no time in carrying on your work.

But now the New Parliament has got itself elected; not without much interest: the first Election there has been in England for fourteen years past. Parliament of Four-hundred, thirty Scotch, thirty Irish; freely chosen according to the Instrument, according to the Bill that was in progress when the Rump disappeared. What it will say to these late inarticulate births of Providence, and high transactions? Something edifying, one may hope.

Open Malignants, as we know, could not vote or be voted for, to this Parliament; only active Puritans or quiet Neutrals, who had clear property to the value of 200*l*. Probably as fair a Representative as, by the rude method of counting heads, could well be got in England. The bulk of it, I suppose, consists of constitutional Presbyterians and use-and-wont Neutrals; it well represents the arithmetical account of heads in England: whether the real divine and human value of thinking-souls in England,—that is a much deeper question; upon which the Protector and this First Parliament of

his may much disagree. It is the question of questions, nevertheless; and he that can answer it best will come best off in the long run. It was not a successful Parliament this, as we shall find. The Lord Protector and it differed widely in certain fundamental notions they had!

We recognize old faces, in fair proportion, among those Four-hundred; many new withal, who never become known to us. Learned Bulstrode, now safe home from perils in Hyperborean countries, is here; elected for several places, the truly valuable man. Old-Speaker Lenthall sits, old Major-General Skippon, old Sir William Masham, old Sir Francis Rouse. My Lord Herbert (Earl of Worcester's son) is here; Owen, Doctor of Divinity, for Oxford University; a certain not entirely useless Guibon Goddard, for the Town of Lynn, to whom we owe some Notes of the procedure. Leading Officers and high Official persons have been extensively elected; several of them twice and thrice: Fleetwood, Lambert, the Claypoles, Dunches, both the young Cromwells; Montague for his County, Ashley Cooper for his. On the other hand, my Lord Fairfax is here; nay, Bradshaw, Haselrig, Robert Wallop, Wildman, and Republicans are here. Old Sir Harry Vane; not young Sir Harry, who sits meditative in the North. Of Scotch members we mention only Laird Swinton, and the Earl of Hartfell; of the Irish, Lord Broghil and Commissary-General Reynolds, whom we once saw fighting well in that country.—And now hear the authentic Bulstrode; and then the Protector himself.

"September 3d, 1654.—The Lord's-day, yet the day of the Parliament's meeting. The Members met in the afternoon at sermon, in the Abbey Church at Westminster: after sermon they attended the Protector in the Painted Chamber; who made a speech to them of the cause of their summons," Speech unreported; "after which, they went to the House, and adjourned to the next morning.

"Monday, September 4th.—The Protector rode in state from Whitehall to the Abbey Church in Westminster. Some hundreds of Gentlemen and Officers went before him bare; with the Life-guard; and next before the coach, his pages and lackeys richly clothed. On the one side of his coach went Strickland, one of his Council, and Captain of his Guard, with the Master of the Ceremonies; both on foot. On the other side went Howard, Captain of the Life-guard. In the coach with him were his son Henry, and Lambert; both sat bare. After him came Claypole, Master of the Horse; with a gallant led horse richly trapped. Next came the Commissioners of the Great Seal," Lisle, Widdrington and I; "Commissioners of the Treasury, and divers of the Council in coaches; last the ordinary Guards.

"He alighting at the Abbey Church door," and entering, "the Officers of the Army and the Gentlemen went first; next them four maces; then the Commissioners of the Seal, Whitlocke carrying the Purse; after, Lambert carrying the Sword bare: the rest followed. His Highness was seated over against the Pulpit; the Members of the Parliament on both sides.

"After the sermon, which was preached by Mr. Thomas Goodwin, his Highness went in the same equipage, to the Painted Chamber. Where he took seat in a chair of state set upon steps," raised chair with a canopy over it, under which his Highness sat covered, "and the Members upon benches round about sat all bare. All being silent, his Highness," rising, "put off his hat, and made a large and subtle speech to them."

Here is a Report of the Speech, "taken by one who stood very near," and "published to prevent mistakes." As we, again, stand at some distance,—two centuries with their chasms and ruins,—our hearing is nothing like so good! To help a little, I have, with reluctance, admitted from the latest of the Commentators a few annotations; and intercalated them the best I could; suppressing very many. Let us listen well; and again we shall understand somewhat.

At this Speech, say the old Newspapers, "all generally seemed abundantly to rejoice, by extraordinary expressions and hums at the conclusion,"—Hum-m-m! "His Highness withdrew into the old House of Lords, and the Members of Parliament into the Parliament House. His Highness, so soon as the Parliament were gone to their House, went back to Whitehall, privately in his barge, by water."

This report of Speech Second, "taken by one that stood near," and "published to prevent mistakes," may be considered as exact enough in respect of matter, but in manner and style it is probably not so close to the Original Deliverance as the foregoing Speech was. He "who stood near" on this occasion seems to have had some conceit in his abilities as a Reporter; has pared-off excrescences, peculiarities,—somewhat desirous to present the Portrait of his Highness without the warts. He, or his Parliamentary-History Editor and he, have, for one thing, very arbitrarily divided the Discourse into little fractional paragraphs; which a good deal obstruct the sense here and there; and have accordingly been disregarded in our Transcript. Our changes, which, as before, have been insignificant, are indicated wherever they seem to have importance or physiognomic character,—indicated too often, perhaps, for the reader's convenience. As to the meaning, I have not anywhere remained in doubt, after due study. The rough Speech when read faithfully becomes transparent, every word of it; credible, calculated to produce conviction, every word of it; and that I suppose is or should be, as our impatient Commentator says, "the definition of a *good Speech*. Other 'good speeches,'" continues he, "ought to be spoken in Bedlam; unless, indeed, you will concede them Drury Lane, and admittance one shilling. Spoken in other localities than these, without belief on the speaker's part, or hope or chance of producing belief on the hearer's—Ye Heavens, as if the good-speaking individual were some frightful Wood-and-leather Man, made at Nürnberg, and tenanted by a Devil; set to *increase* the Sum of Human Madness, instead of lessening it—!"—But we here cut short our impatient Commentator.—The Reporter of Cromwell,

we may say for ourselves, like the painter of him, has not to suppress the warts, the natural rugged physiognomy of the man; which only very poor tastes would exchange for any other. He has to wash the natural face *clean*, however; that men may see *it*, and not the opaque mass of mere soot and featureless confusions which, in two centuries of considerable Stupidity in regard to that matter, have settled there.— *Carlyle*.

“It was many years ago, in reading these speeches,” says Carlyle, in his edition of “Oliver Cromwell’s Letters and Speeches,” “with a feeling that they must have been credible when spoken, and with a strenuous endeavor to find what their meaning was, and try to believe it, that to the present editor the Commonwealth, and Puritan Revolution generally, first began to be conceivable.” The student is advised to read all the speeches as given by Carlyle, with his remarkably penetrating comments interjected. The Fifth Speech, which Carlyle calls a speech fit “for Valhalla and the Sanhedrim of the Gods,” is especially important. The First Speech has been published among the Old South Leaflets, No. 28.

PUBLISHED BY
THE DIRECTORS OF THE OLD SOUTH WORK,
Old South Meeting-house, Boston, Mass.



A Free Commonwealth.

By JOHN MILTON.

THE READY AND EASY WAY TO ESTABLISH A FREE COMMONWEALTH,
AND THE EXCELLENCE THEREOF, COMPARED WITH THE INCON-
VENIENCES AND DANGERS OF READMITTING KINGSHIP IN THIS
NATION. [*First published in 1660.*]

Et nos
Consilium dedimus Syllæ, demus populo nunc.

Although, since the writing of this treatise, the face of things hath had some change, writs for new elections have been recalled, and the members at first chosen readmitted from exclusion, yet not a little rejoicing to hear declared the resolution of those who are in power, tending to the establishment of a free commonwealth, and to remove, if it be possible, this noxious humor of returning to bondage, instilled of late by some deceivers, and nourished from bad principles and false apprehensions among too many of the people, I thought best not to suppress what I had written, hoping that it may now be of much more use and concernment to be freely published, in the midst of our elections to a free parliament, or their sitting to consider freely of the government, whom it behooves to have all things represented to them that may direct their judgment therein; and I never read of any state, scarce of any tyrant, grown so incurable as to refuse counsel from any in a time of public deliberation, much less to be offended. If their absolute determination be to enthrall us, before so long a Lent of servitude, they may permit us a little shroving-time first, wherein to speak freely and take our leaves of liberty. And because in the former edition, through haste, many faults escaped and many books were suddenly dispersed, ere the note to mend them could be sent, I took the opportunity from this

occasion to revise and somewhat to enlarge the whole discourse, especially that part which argues for a perpetual senate. The treatise, thus revised and enlarged, is as follows:—

The Parliament of England, assisted by a great number of the people who appeared and stuck to them faithfulest in defence of religion and their civil liberties, judging kingship by long experience a government unnecessary, burdensome, and dangerous, justly and magnanimously abolished it, turning regal bondage into a free commonwealth, to the admiration and terror of our emulous neighbors. They took themselves not bound by the light of nature or religion to any former covenant, from which the king himself, by many forfeitures of a latter date or discovery and our own longer consideration thereon, had more and more unbound us, both to himself and his posterity, as hath been ever the justice and the prudence of all wise nations that have ejected tyranny. They covenanted “to preserve the king’s person and authority in the preservation of the true religion and our liberties,” not in his endeavoring to bring in upon our consciences a popish religion; upon our liberties, thralldom; upon our lives, destruction, by his occasioning, if not plotting, as was after discovered, the Irish massacre; his fomenting and arming the rebellion; his covert leaguings with the rebels against us; his refusing, more than seven times, propositions most just and necessary to the true religion and our liberties, tendered him by the parliament both of England and Scotland. They made not their covenant concerning him with no difference between a king and a God, or promised him, as Job did to the Almighty, “to trust in him though he slay us”: they understood that the solemn engagement, wherein we all forswore kingship, was no more a breach of the covenant than the covenant was of the protestation before, but a faithful and prudent going on both in words well weighed, and in the true sense of the covenant “without respect of persons,” when we could not serve two contrary masters, God and the king, or the king and that more supreme law, sworn in the first place to maintain our safety and our liberty. They knew the people of England to be a free people, themselves the representers of that freedom; and, although many were excluded, and as many fled (so they pretended) from tumults to Oxford, yet they were left a sufficient number to act in parliament, therefore not bound by any statute of preceding parliaments, but by the law of nature only, which is the only law of laws truly and properly to all mankind fundamental; the beginning and the end of all government; to which no par-

liament or people that will thoroughly reform but may and must have recourse, as they had, and must yet have, in church reformation (if they thoroughly intend it) to evangelic rules; not to ecclesiastical canons, though never so ancient, so ratified and established in the land by statutes which for the most part are mere positive laws, neither natural nor moral: and so by any parliament, for just and serious considerations, without scruple to be at any time repealed.

If others of their number in these things were under force, they were not, but under free conscience; if others were excluded by a power which they could not resist, they were not therefore to leave the helm of government in no hands, to discontinue their care of the public peace and safety, to desert the people in anarchy and confusion, no more than when so many of their members left them as made up in outward formality a more legal parliament of three estates against them. The best affected also and best principled of the people stood not numbering or computing on which side were most voices in parliament, but on which side appeared to them most reason, most safety, when the house divided upon main matters. What was well mentioned and advised, they examined not whether fear or persuasion carried it in the vote, neither did they measure votes and counsels by the intentions of them that voted, knowing that intentions either are but guessed at or not soon enough known, and, although good, can neither make the deed such nor prevent the consequence from being bad. Suppose bad intentions in things otherwise well done: what was well done was by them who so thought, not the less obeyed or followed in the state, since in the church who had not rather follow Iscariot or Simon, the magician, though to covetous ends, preaching, than Saul, though in the uprightness of his heart persecuting the gospel?

Safer they, therefore, judged what they thought the better counsels, though carried on by some perhaps to bad ends, than the worse by others, though endeavored with best intentions. And yet they were not to learn that a greater number might be corrupt within the walls of a parliament as well as of a city; whereof in matters of nearest concernment all men will be judges; nor easily permit that the odds of voices in their greatest council shall more endanger them by corrupt or credulous votes than the odds of enemies by open assaults, judging that most voices ought not always to prevail, where main matters are in question. If others hence will pretend to disturb all counsels, what is that to them who pretend not, but are in

real danger, not they only so judging, but a great, though not the greatest, number of their chosen patriots, who might be more in weight than the others in numbers, there being in number little virtue, but by weight and measure wisdom working all things, and the dangers on either side they seriously thus weighed.

From the treaty, short fruits of long labors and seven years' war; security for twenty years, if we can hold it; reformation in the church for three years; then put to shift again with our vanquished master. His justice, his honor, his conscience, declared quite contrary to ours, which would have furnished him with many such evasions, as in a book entitled "An Inquisition for Blood," soon after were not concealed; bishops not totally removed, but left, as it were, in ambush, a reserve, with ordination in their sole power; their lands already sold not to be alienated, but rented, and the sale of them called "sacrilege"; delinquents, few of many brought to condign punishment; accessories punished, the chief author above pardon, though, after utmost resistance, vanquished; not to give, but to receive laws; yet besought, treated with, and to be thanked for his gracious concessions, to be honored, worshipped, glorified.

If this we swore to do, with what righteousness in the sight of God, with what assurance that we bring not by such an oath the whole sea of blood-guiltiness upon our heads? If on the other side we prefer a free government, though for the present not obtained, yet all those suggested fears and difficulties, as the event will prove, easily overcome, we remain finally secure from the exasperated regal power and out of snares; shall retain the best part of our liberty, which is our religion, and the civil part will be from these who defer us much more easily recovered, being neither so subtle nor so awful as a king re-enthroned. Nor were their actions less both at home and abroad than might become the hopes of a glorious rising commonwealth; nor were the expressions both of army and people, whether in their public declarations or several writings, other than such as testified a spirit in this nation no less noble and well fitted to the liberty of a commonwealth than in the ancient Greeks or Romans. Nor was the heroic cause unsuccessfully defended to all Christendom against the tongue of a famous and thought invincible adversary; nor the constancy and fortitude, that so nobly vindicated our liberty, our victory at once against two the most prevailing usurpers over mankind, superstition and tyranny, unpraised or uncelebrated in a written monument, likely to outlive detraction, as it hath hitherto con-

vinced or silenced not a few of our detractors, especially in parts abroad.

After our liberty and religion thus prosperously fought for, gained, and many years possessed, except in those unhappy interruptions which God hath removed; now that nothing remains but in all reason the certain hopes of a speedy and immediate settlement forever in a firm and free commonwealth, for this extolled and magnified nation, regardless both of honor won or deliverances vouchsafed from Heaven, to fall back, or rather to creep back so poorly, as it seems the multitude would, to their once abjured and detested thralldom of kingship, to be ourselves the slanderers of our own just and religious deeds, though done by some to covetous and ambitious ends, yet not therefore to be stained with their infamy, or they to asperse the integrity of others; and yet these now by revolting from the conscience of deeds well done, both in church and state, to throw away and forsake, or rather to betray, a just and noble cause for the mixture of bad men who have ill-managed and abused it (which had our fathers done heretofore, and on the same pretence deserted true religion, what had long ere this become of our gospel, and all Protestant reformation so much intermixed with the avarice and ambition of some reformers?) and, by thus relapsing, to verify all the bitter predictions of our triumphing enemies, who will now think they wisely discerned and justly censured both us and all our actions as rash, rebellious, hypocritical, and impious,—not only argues a strange, degenerate contagion suddenly spread among us, fitted and prepared for new slavery, but will render us a scorn and derision to all our neighbors.

And what will they at best say of us, and of the whole English name, but scoffingly, as of that foolish builder mentioned by our Saviour, who began to build a tower, and was not able to finish it? Where is this goodly tower of a commonwealth, which the English boasted they would build to overshadow kings, and be another Rome in the west? The foundation indeed they lay gallantly, but fell into a worse confusion, not of tongues, but of factions, than those at the tower of Babel, and have left no memorial of their work behind them remaining but in the common laughter of Europe! Which must needs redound the more to our shame, if we but look on our neighbors, the United Provinces, to us inferior in all outward advantages, who, notwithstanding, in the midst of greater difficulties, courageously, wisely, constantly, went through with the same work, and are settled in all the happy enjoyments of a potent and flourishing republic to this day.

Besides this, if we return to kingship, and soon repent (as undoubtedly we shall, when we begin to find the old encroachments coming on by little and little upon our consciences, which must necessarily proceed from king and bishop united inseparably in one interest), we may be forced perhaps to fight over again all that we have fought, and spend over again all that we have spent, but are never like to attain thus far as we are now advanced to the recovery of our freedom, never to have it in possession as we now have it, never to be vouchsafed hereafter the like mercies and signal assistances from Heaven in our cause, if by our ingrateful backsliding we make these fruitless; flying now to regal concessions from his divine condescensions and gracious answers to our once importuning prayers against the tyranny which we then groaned under; making vain and viler than dirt the blood of so many thousand faithful and valiant Englishmen, who left us in this liberty, bought with their lives; losing by a strange after-game of folly all the battles we have won, together with all Scotland as to our conquest, hereby lost, which never any of our kings could conquer, all the treasure we have spent, not that corruptible treasure only, but that far more precious of all our late miraculous deliverances; treading back again with lost labor all our happy steps in the progress of reformation, and most pitifully depriving ourselves the instant fruition of that free government which we have so dearly purchased, a free commonwealth, not only held by wisest men in all ages the noblest, the manliest, the equallest, the justest government, the most agreeable to all due liberty and proportionate equality, both human, civil, and Christian, most cherishing to virtue and true religion, but also (I may say it with greatest probability) plainly commended, or rather enjoined, by our Saviour himself, to all Christians, not without remarkable disallowance, and the brand of Gentilism upon kingship.

God in much displeasure gave a king to the Israelites, and imputed it a sin to them that they sought one; but Christ apparently forbids his disciples to admit of any such heathenish government. "The kings of the Gentiles," saith he, "exercise lordship over them"; and they that "exercise authority upon them are called benefactors; but ye shall not be so; but he that is greatest among you, let him be as the younger; and he that is chief, as he that serveth." The occasion of these, his words, was the ambitious desire of Zebedee's two sons to be exalted above their brethren in his kingdom which they thought was to be erelong upon earth. That he speaks of

civil government is manifest by the former part of the comparison, which infers the other part to be always in the same kind. And what government comes nearer to this precept of Christ than a free commonwealth, wherein they who are the greatest are perpetual servants and drudges to the public at their own cost and charges, neglect their own affairs, yet are not elevated above their brethren, live soberly in their families, walk the street as other men, may be spoken to freely, familiarly, friendly, without adoration? Whereas a king must be adored like a demigod, with a dissolute and haughty court about him, of vast expense and luxury, masks and revels, to the debauching of our prime gentry, both male and female; not in their pastimes only, but in earnest, by the loose employments of court service, which will be then thought honorable. There will be a queen of no less charge, in most likelihood outlandish and a papist, besides a queen-mother such already; together with both their courts and numerous train; then a royal issue, and ere long severally their sumptuous courts; to the multiplying of a servile crew, not of servants only, but of nobility and gentry, bred up then to the hopes not of public, but of court offices, to be stewards, chamberlains, ushers, grooms, even of the close-stool; and the lower their minds debased with court opinions, contrary to all virtue and reformation, the haughtier will be their pride and profuseness. We may well remember this not long since at home; nor need but look at present into the French court, where enticements and preferments daily draw away and pervert the Protestant nobility.

As to the burden of expense, to our cost we shall soon know it; for any good to us deserving to be termed no better than the vast and lavish price of our subjection, and their debauchery, which we are now so greedily cheapening, and would so fain be paying most inconsiderately to a single person, who, for anything wherein the public really needs him, will have little else to do but to bestow the eating and drinking of excessive dainties, to set a pompous face upon the superficial actings of state, to pageant himself up and down in progress among the perpetual bowings and cringings of an abject people, on either side deifying and adoring him for nothing done that can deserve it. For what can he more than another man, who, even in the expression of a late court poet, sits only like a great cipher set to no purpose before a long row of other significant figures? Nay, it is well and happy for the people, if their king be but a cipher, being oft-times a mischief, a pest, a scourge of the nation, and, which is

worse, not to be removed, not to be controlled, much less accused or brought to punishment, without the danger of a common ruin, without the shaking and almost subversion of the whole land, whereas in a free commonwealth any governor or chief counsellor offending may be removed and punished without the least commotion.

Certainly, then, that people must needs be mad or strangely infatuated that build the chief hope of their common happiness or safety on a single person, who, if he happen to be good, can do no more than another man; if to be bad, hath in his hands to do more evil without check than millions of other men. The happiness of a nation must needs be firmest and certainest in full and free council of their own electing, where no single person, but reason only, sways. And what madness is it for them who might manage nobly their own affairs themselves, sluggishly and weakly to devolve all on a single person; and, more like boys under age than men, to commit all to his patronage and disposal, who neither can perform what he undertakes, and yet for undertaking it, though royally paid, will not be their servant, but their lord! How unmanly must it needs be to count such a one the breath of our nostrils, to hang all our felicity on him, all our safety, our well-being, for which, if we were aught else but sluggards or babies, we need depend on none but God and our own counsels, our own active virtue and industry! "Go to the ant, thou sluggard," saith Solomon; "consider her ways, and be wise; which, having no prince, ruler, or lord, provides her meat in the summer, and gathers her food in the harvest," which evidently shows us that they who think the nation undone without a king, though they look grave or haughty, have not so much true spirit and understanding in them as a pismire: neither are these diligent creatures hence concluded to live in lawless anarchy, or that commended, but are set the examples to imprudent and ungoverned men, of a frugal and self-governing democracy or commonwealth, safer and more thriving in the joint providence and counsel of many industrious equals than under the single domination of one imperious lord.

It may be well wondered that any nation, styling themselves free, can suffer any man to pretend hereditary right over them as their lord, whenas, by acknowledging that right, they conclude themselves his servants and his vassals, and so renounce their own freedom. Which how a people and their leaders especially can do, who have fought so gloriously for liberty; how they can change their noble words and actions, heretofore so becoming the majesty of a free people, into the base necessity of court flatteries and prostrations,—is not only strange and admirable, but lamentable to think on. That a nation should be so valorous and courageous to win their liberty in the field, and, when they have won it, should be so heartless and unwise in their counsels as not to know how to use it, value it, what to do with it, or with themselves, but, after ten or twelve years' prosperous war and contestation with tyranny, basely and besottedly to run their necks again into the yoke which they have broken, and prostrate all the fruits of their victory for nought at the feet of the vanquished, besides our loss of glory, and such an example as kings

or tyrants never yet had the like to boast of, will be an ignominy, if it befall us, that never yet befell any nation possessed of their liberty; worthy indeed themselves, whatsoever they be, to be forever slaves; but that part of the nation which consents not with them, as I persuade me of a great number, far worthier than by their means to be brought into the same bondage.

Considering these things so plain, so rational, I cannot but yet further admire on the other side how any man, who hath the true principles of justice and religion in him, can presume or take upon him to be a king and lord over his brethren, whom he cannot but know, whether as men or Christians, to be for the most part every way equal or superior to himself: how he can display with such vanity and ostentation his regal splendor, so supereminently above other mortal men; or, being a Christian, can assume such extraordinary honor and worship to himself, while the kingdom of Christ, our common king and lord, is hid to this world, and such Gentilish imitation forbid in express words by himself to all his disciples. All Protestants hold that Christ in his church hath left no vicegerent of his power; but himself, without deputy, is the only head thereof, governing it from heaven: how then can any Christian man derive his kingship from Christ, but with worse usurpation than the pope his headship over the church, since Christ not only hath not left the least shadow of a command for any such vicegerence from him in the state as the pope pretends for his in the church, but hath expressly declared that such regal dominion is from the Gentiles, not from him, and hath strictly charged us not to imitate them therein?

I doubt not but all ingenuous and knowing men will easily agree with me that a free commonwealth without single person or House of Lords is by far the best government, if it can be had; but we have all this while, say they, been expecting it, and cannot yet attain it. It is true, indeed, when monarchy was dissolved, the form of a commonwealth should have forthwith been framed, and the practice thereof immediately begun, that the people might have soon been satisfied and delighted with the decent order, ease, and benefit thereof: we had been then by this time firmly rooted past fear of commotions or mutations, and now flourishing. This care of timely settling a new government instead of the old, too much neglected, hath been our mischief. Yet the cause thereof may be ascribed with most reason to the frequent disturbances, interruptions, and dissolutions which the parliament hath had, partly from the impatient or disaffected people, partly from some ambitious leaders in the army, much contrary, I believe, to the mind and approbation of the army itself, and their other commanders, once undeceived, or in their own power.

Now is the opportunity, now the very season, wherein we may obtain a free commonwealth, and establish it forever in the land, without difficulty or much delay. Writs are sent out for elections, and, which is worth observing, in the name not of any king, but of the keepers of our liberty, to summon a free parliament, which then only will indeed be free, and deserve the true honor of that supreme

title, if they preserve us a free people. Which never parliament was more free to do, being now called not as heretofore, by the summons of a king, but by the voice of liberty. And if the people, laying aside prejudice and impatience, will seriously and calmly now consider their own good, both religious and civil, their own liberty, and the only means thereof, as shall be here laid down before them, and will elect their knights and burgesses able men, and according to the just and necessary qualifications (which, for aught I hear, remain yet in force unrepealed, as they were formerly decreed in parliament), men not addicted to a single person or House of Lords, the work is done; at least, the foundation firmly laid of a free commonwealth, and good part also erected of the main structure. For the ground and basis of every just and free government (since men have smarted so oft for committing all to one person), is a general council of ablest men, chosen by the people to consult of public affairs from time to time for the common good. In this grand council must the sovereignty, not transferred, but delegated only, and as it were deposited, reside: with this caution, they must have the forces by sea and land committed to them for preservation of the common peace and liberty; must raise and manage the public revenue, at least with some inspectors deputed for satisfaction of the people, how it is employed; must make or propose, as more expressly shall be said anon, civil laws, treat of commerce, peace, or war with foreign nations; and, for the carrying on some particular affairs with more secrecy and expedition, must elect, as they have already out of their own number and others, a council of state.

And, although it may seem strange at first hearing, by reason that men's minds are prepossessed with the notion of successive parliaments, I affirm that the grand or general council, being well chosen, should be perpetual; for so their business is or may be, and oft-times urgent, the opportunity of affairs gained or lost in a moment. The day of council cannot be set as the day of a festival, but must be ready always to prevent or answer all occasions. By this continuance they will become every way skilfullest, best provided of intelligence from abroad, best acquainted with the people at home, and the people with them. The ship of the commonwealth is always under sail: they sit at the stern; and, if they steer well, what need is there to change them, it being rather dangerous? Add to this that the grand council is both foundation and main pillar of the whole state; and to move pillars and foundations, not faulty, cannot be safe for the building.

I see not, therefore, how we can be advantaged by successive and transitory parliaments: but that they are much likelier continually to unsettle rather than to settle a free government, to breed commotions, changes, novelties, and uncertainties, to bring neglect upon present affairs and opportunities, while all minds are in suspense with expectation of a new assembly, and the assembly, for a good space, taken up with the new settling of itself. After which, if they find no great work to do, they will make it by altering or repealing former acts or making and multiplying new, that they may seem to

see what their predecessors saw not, and not to have assembled for nothing, till all law be lost in the multitude of clashing statutes. But if the ambition of such as think themselves injured that they also partake not of the government, and are impatient till they be chosen, cannot brook the perpetuity of others chosen before them, or if it be feared that long continuance of power may corrupt sincerest men, the known expedient is, and by some lately propounded, that annually (or, if the space be longer, so much perhaps the better) the third part of senators may go out according to the precedence of their election, and the like number be chosen in their places, to prevent their settling of too absolute a power, if it should be perpetual; and this they call "partial rotation."

But I could wish that this wheel, or partial wheel, in state, if it be possible, might be avoided, as having too much affinity with the wheel of Fortune. For it appears not how this can be done without danger and mischance of putting out a great number of the best and ablest, in whose stead new elections may bring in as many raw, unexperienced, and otherwise affected, to the weakening and much altering for the worse of public transactions. Neither do I think a perpetual senate, especially chosen or intrusted by the people, much in this land to be feared, where the well-affected, either in a standing army or in a settled militia, have their arms in their own hands. Safest therefore to me it seems, and of least hazard or interruption to affairs, that none of the grand council be moved, unless by death or just conviction of some crime; for what can be expected firm or steadfast from a floating foundation? However, I forejudge not any probable expedient, any temperament that can be found in things of this nature so disputable on either side.

Yet, lest this which I affirm be thought my single opinion, I shall add sufficient testimony. Kingship itself is therefore counted the more safe and durable because the king, and for the most part his council, is not changed during life. But a commonwealth is held immortal, and therein firmest, safest, and most above fortune; for the death of a king causeth oft-times many dangerous alterations, but the death now and then of a senator is not felt, the main body of them still continuing permanent in greatest and noblest commonwealths, and as it were eternal. Therefore, among the Jews the supreme council of seventy, called the Sanhedrim, founded by Moses, in Athens that of Areopagus, in Sparta that of the ancients, in Rome, the senate, consisted of members chosen for term of life; and by that means remained as it were still the same to generations. In Venice they change indeed oftener than every year some particular council of state, as that of six, or such other; but the true senate, which upholds and sustains the government, is the whole aristocracy immovable. So in the United Provinces the states-general, which are indeed but a council of state deputed by the whole union, are not usually the same persons for above three or six years; but the states of every city, in whom the sovereignty hath been placed time out of mind, are a standing senate, without succession, and accounted chiefly in that regard the main prop of their liberty. And why they

should be so in every well-ordered commonwealth, they who write of policy give these reasons: that to make the senate successive not only impairs the dignity and lustre of the senate, but weakens the whole commonwealth, and brings it into manifest danger; while by this means the secrets of state are frequently divulged, and matters of great consequence committed to inexperienced and novice counsellors, utterly to seek in the full and intimate knowledge of affairs past.

I know not therefore what should be peculiar in England to make successive parliaments thought safest or convenient here more than in other nations, unless it be the fickleness which is attributed to us as we are islanders. But good education and exquisite wisdom ought to correct the fluxible fault, if any such be, of our watery situation. It will be objected that in those places where they had perpetual senates they had also popular remedies against their growing too imperious: as, in Athens, besides Areopagus, another senate of four or five hundred; in Sparta, the Ephori; in Rome, the tribunes of the people.

But the event tells us that these remedies either little availed the people or brought them to such a licentious and unbridled democracy as, in fine, ruined themselves with their own excessive power. So that the main reason urged why popular assemblies are to be trusted with the people's liberty rather than a senate of principal men, because great men will be still endeavoring to enlarge their power, but the common sort will be contented to maintain their own liberty, is by experience found false, none being more immoderate and ambitious to amplify their power than such popularities which were seen in the people of Rome, who, at first contented to have their tribunes, at length contended with the senate that one consul, then both, soon after that the censors and prætors also, should be created plebeian, and the whole empire put into their hands, adoring lastly those who most were adverse to the senate, till Marius, by fulfilling their inordinate desires, quite lost them all the power for which they had so long been striving, and left them under the tyranny of Sylla. The balance therefore must be exactly so set as to preserve and keep up due authority on either side, as well in the senate as in the people. And this annual rotation of a senate to consist of three hundred, as is lately propounded, requires also another popular assembly upward of a thousand, with an answerable rotation. Which, besides that it will be liable to all those inconveniences found in the aforesaid remedies, cannot but be troublesome and chargeable, both in their motion and their session, to the whole land, unwieldy with their own bulk, unable in so great a number to mature their consultations as they ought, if any be allotted them, and that they meet not from so many parts remote to sit a whole year lieger in one place, only now and then to hold up a forest of fingers, or to convey each man his bean or ballot into the box, without reason shown or common deliberation; incontinent of secrets, if any be imparted to them: emulous and always jarring with the other senate. The much better way doubtless will be, in this wavering condition of our affairs, to defer the changing or circumscribing of our senate,

more than may be done with ease, till the commonwealth be thoroughly settled in peace and safety, and they themselves give us the occasion.

Military men hold it dangerous to change the form of battle in view of an enemy; neither did the people of Rome bandy with their senate, while any of the Tarquins lived, the enemies of their liberty; nor sought, by creating tribunes, to defend themselves against the fear of their patricians, till sixteen years after the expulsion of their kings, and in full security of their state, they had or thought they had just cause given them by the senate. Another way will be to well qualify and refine elections, not committing all to the noise and shouting of a rude multitude, but permitting only those of them who are rightly qualified to nominate as many as they will, and out of that number others of a better breeding to choose a less number more judiciously, till, after a third or fourth sifting and refining of exactest choice, they only be left chosen who are the due number, and seem by most voices the worthiest.

To make the people fittest to choose and the chosen fittest to govern will be to mend our corrupt and faulty education, to teach the people faith, not without virtue, temperance, modesty, sobriety, parsimony, justice; not to admire wealth or honor; to hate turbulence and ambition; to place every one his private welfare and happiness in the public peace, liberty, and safety. They shall not then need to be much mistrustful of their chosen patriots in the grand council, who will be then rightly called the true keepers of our liberty, though the most of their business will be in foreign affairs. But, to prevent all mistrust, the people then will have their several ordinary assemblies (which will henceforth quite annihilate the odious power and name of committees) in the chief towns of every county, without the trouble, charge, or time lost of summoning and assembling from far in so great a number, and so long residing from their own houses, or removing of their families, to do as much at home in their several shires, entire or subdivided, toward the securing of their liberty, as a numerous assembly of them all formed and convened on purpose with the wariest rotation. Whereof I shall speak more ere the end of this discourse: for it may be referred to time, so we be still going on by degrees to perfection. The people well weighing and performing these things, I suppose, would have no cause to fear, though the parliament abolishing that name, as originally signifying but the parley of our lords and commons with the Norman king when he pleased to call them, should, with certain limitations of their power, sit perpetual, if their ends be faithful and for a free commonwealth, under the name of a grand or general council.

Till this be done I am in doubt whether our state will be ever certainly and thoroughly settled; never likely till then to see an end of our troubles and continual changes, or at least never the true settlement and assurance of our liberty. The grand council being thus firmly constituted to perpetuity, and still, upon the death or default of any member, supplied and kept in full number, there can be no cause alleged why peace, justice, plentiful trade, and all pros-

perity should not thereupon ensue throughout the whole land, with as much assurance as can be of human things that they shall so continue (if God favor us, and our wilful sins provoke him not) even to the coming of our true and rightful and only to be expected King, only worthy as he is our only Saviour, the Messiah, the Christ, the only heir of his eternal Father, the only by him anointed and ordained since the work of our redemption finished, universal Lord of all mankind.

The way propounded is plain, easy, and open before us, without intricacies, without the introduction of new or absolute forms or terms or exotic models, ideas that would effect nothing, but with a number of new injunctions to manacle the native liberty of mankind, turning all virtue into prescription, servitude, and necessity, to the great impairing and frustrating of Christian liberty. I say again, this way lies free and smooth before us; is not tangled with inconveniencies; invents no new encumbrances; requires no perilous, no injurious alteration or circumscription of men's lands and properties; secure that in this commonwealth, temporal and spiritual lords removed, no man or number of men can attain to such wealth or vast possession as will need the hedge of an agrarian law (never successful, but the cause rather of sedition, save only where it began seasonably with first possession) to confine them from endangering our public liberty. To conclude, it can have no considerable objection made against it that it is not practicable, lest it be said hereafter that we gave up our liberty for want of a ready way or distinct form proposed of a free commonwealth. And this facility we shall have above our next neighboring commonwealth (if we can keep us from the fond conceit of something like a duke of Venice, put lately into many men's heads, by some one or other subtly driving on under that notion his own ambitious ends to lurch a crown), that our liberty shall not be hampered or hovered over by any engagement to such a potent family as the house of Nassau, of whom to stand in perpetual doubt and suspicion, but we shall live the clearest and absolutest free nation in the world.

On the contrary, if there be a king, which the inconsiderate multitude are now so mad upon, mark how far short we are like to come of all those happinesses which in a free state we shall immediately be possessed of. First, the grand council, which, as I showed before, should sit perpetually (unless their leisure give them now and then some intermissions or vacations, easily manageable by the council of state left sitting) shall be called, by the king's good will and utmost endeavor, as seldom as may be. For it is only the king's right, he will say, to call a parliament; and this he will do most commonly about his own affairs rather than the kingdom's, as will appear plainly so soon as they are called. For what will their business then be, and the chief expense of their time, but an endless tugging between petition of right and royal prerogative, especially about the negative voice, militia, or subsidies, demanded and oft-times extorted without reasonable cause appearing to the commons, who are the only true representatives of the people and their

liberty, but will be then mingled with a court faction, besides which within their own walls the sincere part of them who stand faithful to the people will again have to deal with two troublesome counter-working adversaries from without, mere creatures of the king, spiritual, and the greater part, as is likeliest, of temporal lords, nothing concerned with the people's liberty.

If these prevail not in what they please, though never so much against the people's interest, the parliament shall be soon dissolved, or sit and do nothing; not suffered to remedy the least grievance, or enact aught advantageous to the people. Next, the council of state shall not be chosen by the parliament, but by the king, still his own creatures, courtiers, and favorers, who will be sure in all their counsels to set their master's grandeur and absolute power, in what they are able, far above the people's liberty. I deny not but that there may be such a king, who may regard the common good before his own, may have no vicious favorite, may hearken only to the wisest and incorruptest of his parliament; but this rarely happens in a monarchy, not elective; and it behooves not a wise nation to commit the sum of their well-being, the whole state of their safety, to fortune. What need they; and how absurd would it be, whenas they themselves, to whom his chief virtue will be but to hearken, may with much better management and despatch, with much more commendation of their own worth and magnanimity, govern without a master? Can the folly be paralleled, to adore and be the slaves of a single person for doing that which it is ten thousand to one whether he can or will do, and we without him might do more easily, more effectually, more laudably ourselves? Shall we never grow old enough to be wise, to make seasonable use of gravest authorities, experiences, examples? Is it such an unspeakable joy to serve, such felicity to wear a yoke? to clink our shackles, locked on by pretended law of subjection, more intolerable and hopeless to be ever shaken off, than those which are knocked on by illegal injury and violence?

Aristotle, our chief instructor in the universities, lest this doctrine be thought sectarian, as the royalist would have it thought, tells us in the third of his Politics that certain men at first, for the matchless excellence of their virtue above others, or some great public benefit, were created kings by the people, in small cities and territories, and in the scarcity of others to be found like them; but when they abused their power, and governments grew larger, and the number of prudent men increased, that then the people, soon deposing their tyrants, betook them, in all civilest places, to the form of a free commonwealth. And why should we thus disparage and prejudicate our own nation as to fear a scarcity of able and worthy men united in counsel to govern us, if we will but use diligence and impartiality to find them out and choose them, rather than yoking ourselves to a single person, the natural adversary and oppressor of liberty; though good, yet far easier corruptible by the excess of his single power and exaltation, or, at best, not comparably sufficient to bear the weight of government, nor equally disposed to make us happy in the enjoyment of our liberty under him?

But admit that monarchy of itself may be convenient to some nations, yet to us who have thrown it out, received back again, it cannot but prove pernicious. For kings to come, never forgetting their former ejection, will be sure to fortify and arm themselves sufficiently for the future against all such attempts hereafter from the people, who shall be then so narrowly watched and kept so low that, though they would never so fain, and at the same rate of their blood and treasure, they never shall be able to regain what they now have purchased and may enjoy, or to free themselves from any yoke imposed upon them. Nor will they dare to go about it; utterly disheartened for the future, if these their highest attempts prove unsuccessful; which will be the triumph of all tyrants hereafter over any people that shall resist oppression; and their song will then be, to others, How sped the rebellious English? to our posterity, How sped the rebels, your fathers?

This is not my conjecture, but drawn from God's known denouncement against the gentilizing Israelites, who, though they were governed in a commonwealth of God's own ordaining, he only their king, they his peculiar people, yet affecting rather to resemble heathen, but pretending the misgovernment of Samuel's sons, no more a reason to dislike their commonwealth than the violence of Eli's sons was imputable to that priesthood or religion, clamored for a king. They had their longing, but with this testimony of God's wrath: "Ye shall cry out in that day, because of your king whom ye shall have chosen, and the Lord will not hear you in that day." Us if he shall hear now, how much less will he hear when we cry hereafter, who once delivered by him from a king, and not without wondrous acts of his providence, insensible and unworthy of those high mercies, are returning precipitantly, if he withhold us not, back to the captivity from whence he freed us!

Yet neither shall we obtain or buy at an easy rate this new gilded yoke, which thus transports us: a new royal revenue must be found, a new episcopal; for those are individual; both which being wholly dissipated, or bought by private persons, or assigned for service done, and especially to the army, cannot be recovered without general detriment and confusion to men's estates, or a heavy imposition on all men's purses; benefit to none but to the worst and ignoblest sort of men, whose hope is to be either the ministers of court riot and excess or the gainers by it. But, not to speak more of losses and extraordinary levies on our estates, what will then be the revenges and offences remembered and returned, not only by the chief person, but by all his adherents,—accounts and reparations that will be required, suits, indictments, inquiries, discoveries, complaints, informations, who knows against whom or how many, though perhaps neuter, if not to utmost infliction, yet to imprisonment, fines, banishment, or molestation? if not these, yet disfavor, discountenance, disregard, and contempt on all but the known royalist, or whom he favors, will be plenteous.

Nor let the new royalized presbyterians persuade themselves that their old doings, though now recanted, will be forgotten, whatever

conditions be contrived or trusted on. Will they not believe this; nor remember the pacification, how it was kept to the Scots; how other solemn promises many a time to us? Let them but now read the diabolical forerunning libels, the faces, the gestures, that now appear foremost and briskest in all public places, as the harbingers of those that are in expectation to reign over us; let them but hear the insolencies, the menaces, the insultings, of our newly animated common enemies crept lately out of their holes, their hell I might say, by the language of their infernal pamphlets, the spew of every drunkard, every ribald; nameless, yet not for want of license, but for very shame of their own vile persons, not daring to name themselves, while they traduce others by name; and give us to foresee that they intend to second their wicked words, if ever they have power, with more wicked deeds.

Let our zealous backsliders forethink now with themselves how their necks yoked with these tigers of Bacchus, these new fanatics of not the preaching, but the sweating tub, inspired with nothing holier than the venereal pox, can draw one way under monarchy to the establishing of church discipline with these new disgorged atheisms. Yet shall they not have the honor to yoke with these, but shall be yoked under them: these shall plough on their backs. And do they among them, who are so forward to bring in the single person, think to be by him trusted or long regarded? So trusted they shall be, and so regarded, as by kings are wont reconciled enemies; neglected, and soon after discarded, if not persecuted for old traitors; the first inciters, beginners, and more than to the third part actors, of all that followed.

It will be found also that there must be then, as necessary as now (for the contrary part will be still feared), a standing army, which for certain shall not be this, but of the fiercest cavaliers, of no less expense, and perhaps again under Rupert. But let this army be sure they shall be soon disbanded, and likeliest without arrear or pay; and, being disbanded, not be sure but they may as soon be questioned for being in arms against their king. The same let them fear who have contributed money, which will amount to no small number, that must then take their turn to be made delinquents and compounders. They who past reason and recovery are devoted to kingship perhaps will answer that a greater part by far of the nation will have it so, the rest therefore must yield.

Not so much to convince these, which I little hope, as to confirm them who yield not, I reply that this greatest part have both in reason, and the trial of just battle, lost the right of their election what the government shall be. Of them who have not lost that right, whether they for kingship be the greater number, who can certainly determine? Suppose they be, yet of freedom they partake all alike, one main end of government; which, if the greater part value not, but will degenerately forego, is it just or reasonable that most voices against the main end of government should enslave the less number that would be free? More just it is, doubtless, if it come to force, that a less number compel a greater to retain, which can be no wrong

to them, their liberty than that a greater number, for the pleasure of their baseness, compel a less most injuriously to be their fellow-slaves. They who seek nothing but their own just liberty have always right to win it and to keep it, whenever they have power, be the voices never so numerous that oppose it. And how much we above others are concerned to defend it from kingship, and from them who in pursuance thereof so perniciously would betray us and themselves to most certain misery and thraldom, will be needless to repeat.

Having thus far shown with what ease we may now obtain a free commonwealth, and by it, with as much ease, all the freedom, peace, justice, plenty, that we can desire; on the other side, the difficulties, troubles, uncertainties, nay, rather impossibilities, to enjoy these things constantly under a monarch,—I will now proceed to show more particularly wherein our freedom and flourishing condition will be more ample and secure to us under a free commonwealth than under kingship.

The whole freedom of man consists either in spiritual or civil liberty. As for spiritual, who can be at rest, who can enjoy anything in this world with contentment, who hath not liberty to serve God, and to save his own soul, according to the best light which God hath planted in him to that purpose, by the reading of his revealed will and the guidance of his Holy Spirit? That this is best pleasing to God, and that the whole Protestant church allows no supreme judge or rule in matters of religion but the Scriptures, and these to be interpreted by the Scriptures themselves, which necessarily infers liberty of conscience, I have heretofore proved at large in another treatise, and might yet further, by the public declarations, confessions, and admonitions of whole churches and states, obvious in all histories since the reformation.

This liberty of conscience, which above all other things ought to be to all men dearest and most precious, no government more inclinable not to favor only, but to protect, than a free commonwealth, as being most magnanimous, most fearless, and confident of its own fair proceedings. Whereas kingship, though looking big, yet indeed most pusillanimous, full of fears, full of jealousies, startled at every umbrage, as it hath been observed of old to have ever suspected most and mistrusted them who were in most esteem for virtue and generosity of mind, so it is now known to have most in doubt and suspicion them who are most reputed to be religious. Queen Elizabeth, though herself accounted so good a Protestant, so moderate, so confident of her subjects' love, would never give way so much as to presbyterian reformation in this land, though once and again besought, as Camden relates; but imprisoned and persecuted the very proposers thereof, alleging it as her mind and maxim unalterable that such reformation would diminish regal authority.

What liberty of conscience can we then expect of others, far worse principled from the cradle, trained up and governed by popish and Spanish counsels, and on such depending hitherto for subsistence? Especially what can this last parliament expect, who, having revived

lately and published the covenant, have re-engaged themselves never to readmit episcopacy? Which no son of Charles returning but will most certainly bring back with him, if he regard the last and strictest charge of his father, "to persevere in, not the doctrine only, but government of the church of England, not to neglect the speedy and effectual suppressing of errors and schism," among which he accounted presbytery one of the chief.

Or if, notwithstanding that charge of his father, he submit to the covenant, how will he keep faith to us, with disobedience to him; or regard that faith given, which must be founded on the breach of that last and solemnest paternal charge, and the reluctance, I may say the antipathy, which is in all kings, against presbyterian and independent discipline? For they hear the gospel speaking much of liberty,—a word which monarchy and her bishops both fear and hate, but a free commonwealth both favors and promotes; and not the word only, but the thing itself. But let our governors beware in time, lest their hard measure to liberty of conscience be found the rock whereon they shipwreck themselves, as others have now done before them in the course wherein God was directing their steerage to a free commonwealth; and the abandoning of all those whom they call sectaries, for the detected falsehood and ambition of some, be a wilful rejection of their own chief strength and interest in the freedom of all Protestant religion, under what abusive name soever calumniated.

The other part of our freedom consists in the civil rights and advancements of every person according to his merit: the enjoyment of those never more certain, and the excess to these never more open, than in a free commonwealth. Both which, in my opinion, may be best and soonest obtained if every county in the land were made a kind of subordinate commonalty or commonwealth, and one chief town or more, according as the shire is in circuit, made cities, if they be not so called already, where the nobility and chief gentry, from a proportionable compass of territory annexed to each city, may build houses or palaces befitting their quality, may bear part in the government, make their own judicial laws, or use those that are, and execute them by their own elected judicatures and judges without appeal, in all things of civil government between man and man. So they shall have justice in their own hands, law executed fully and finally in their own counties and precincts, long wished and spoken of, but never yet obtained. They shall have none then to blame but themselves if it be not well administered; and fewer laws to expect or fear from the supreme authority; or to those that shall be made, of any great concernment to public liberty, they may, without much trouble in these commonalties, or in more general assemblies called to their cities from the whole territory on such occasion, declare and publish their assent or dissent by deputies, within a time limited, sent to the grand council; yet so as this their judgment declared shall submit to the greater number of other counties or commonalties, and not avail them to any exemption of themselves, or refusal of agreement with the rest, as it may in any of the United Provinces, being sovereign within itself, oft-times to the great disadvantage of that union.

In these employments they may, much better than they do now, exercise and fit themselves till their lot fall to be chosen into the grand council, according as their worth and merit shall be taken notice of by the people. As for controversies that shall happen between men of several counties, they may repair, as they do now, to the capital city, or any other more commodious, indifferent place and equal judges. And this I find to have been practised in the old Athenian commonwealth, reputed the first and ancientest place of civility in all Greece; that they had in their several cities a peculiar, in Athens a common, government; and their right, as it befell them, to the administration of both.

They should have here also schools and academies at their own choice, wherein their children may be bred up in their own sight to all learning and noble education; not in grammar only, but in all liberal arts and exercises. This would soon spread much more knowledge and civility, yea, religion, through all parts of the land, by communicating the natural heat of government and culture more distributively to all extreme parts, which now lie numb and neglected, would soon make the whole nation more industrious, more ingenious at home, more potent, more honorable abroad. To this a free commonwealth will easily assent (nay, the parliament hath had already some such thing in design); for of all governments a commonwealth aims most to make the people flourishing, virtuous, noble, and high-spirited. Monarchs will never permit, whose aim is to make the people wealthy indeed perhaps, and well fleeced, for their own shearing, and the supply of regal prodigality, but otherwise softest, basest, vicious, servilest, easiest to be kept under. And not only in fleece, but in mind also sheepishest, and will have all the benches of judicature annexed to the throne, as a gift of royal grace, that we have justice done us: whenas nothing can be more essential to the freedom of a people than to have the administration of justice, and all public ornaments, in their own election, and within their own bounds, without long travelling or depending upon remote places to obtain their right, or any civil accomplishment, so it be not supreme, but subordinate to the general power and union of the whole republic.

In which happy firmness, as in the particular above mentioned, we shall also far exceed the United Provinces, by having, not as they (to the retarding and distracting oft-times of their counsels or urgentest occasions), many sovereignties united in one commonwealth, but many commonwealths under one united and intrusted sovereignty. And when we have our forces by sea and land, either of a faithful army or a settled militia, in our own hands, to the firm establishing of a free commonwealth, public accounts under our own inspection, general laws and taxes, with their causes, in our own domestic suffrages, judicial laws, offices, and ornaments at home in our own ordering and administration, all distinction of lords and commoners, that may anyway divide or sever the public interest, removed, what can a perpetual senate have then wherein to grow corrupt, wherein to encroach upon us, or usurp? Or, if they do, wherein to be formidable? Yet if all this avail not to remove the fear or envy

of a perpetual sitting, it may be easily provided, to change a third part of them yearly or every two or three years, as was above mentioned; or that it be at those times in the people's choice whether they will change them or renew their power, as they shall find cause.

I have no more to say at present: few words will save us, well considered; few and easy things, now seasonably done. But, if the people be so affected as to prostitute religion and liberty to the vain and groundless apprehension that nothing but kingship can restore trade, not remembering the frequent plagues and pestilences that then wasted this city, such as through God's mercy we never have felt since; and that trade flourishes nowhere more than in the free commonwealths of Italy, Germany, and the Low Countries, before their eyes at this day; yet if trade be grown so craving and importunate through the profuse living of tradesmen that nothing can support it but the luxurious expenses of a nation upon trifles or superfluities; so as if the people generally should betake themselves to frugality, it might prove a dangerous matter, lest tradesmen should mutiny for want of trading; and that therefore we must forego and set to sale religion, liberty, honor, safety, all concerns divine or human, to keep up trading; if, lastly, after all this light among us, the same reason shall pass for current, to put our necks again under kingship, as was made use of by the Jews to return back to Egypt, and to the worship of their idol queen, because they falsely imagined that they then lived in more plenty and prosperity,—our condition is not sound, but rotten, both in religion and all civil prudence, and will bring us soon, the way we are marching, to those calamities which attend always and unavoidably on luxury, all national judgments under foreign and domestic slavery. So far we shall be from mending our condition by monarchizing our government, whatever new conceit now possesses us.

However, with all hazard I have ventured what I thought my duty to speak in season, and to forewarn my country in time, wherein I doubt not but there may be many wise men in all places and degrees, but am sorry the effects of wisdom are so little seen among us. Many circumstances and particulars I could have added in those things whereof I have spoken; but a few main matters now put speedily in execution will suffice to recover us, and set all right; and there will want at no time who are good at circumstances, but men who set their minds on main matters, and sufficiently urge them, in these most difficult times I find not many.

What I have spoken is the language of that which is not called amiss "the good old Cause"; if it seem strange to any, it will not seem more strange, I hope, than convincing to backsliders. Thus much I should perhaps have said, though I was sure I should have spoken only to trees and stones; and had none to cry to, but with the prophet, "O earth, earth, earth!" to tell the very soil itself what her perverse inhabitants are deaf to. Nay, though what I have spoke should happen (which Thou suffer not, who didst create mankind free! nor Thou next, who didst redeem us from being servants of men!) to be the last words of our expiring liberty. But I trust I

shall have spoken persuasion to abundance of sensible and ingenuous men; to some, perhaps, whom God may raise from these stones to become children of reviving liberty, and may reclaim, though they seem now choosing them a captain back for Egypt, to bethink themselves a little, and consider whither they are rushing; to exhort this torrent also of the people not to be so impetuous, but to keep their due channel; and at length recovering and uniting their better resolutions, now that they see already how open and unbounded the insolence and rage is of our common enemies, to stay these ruinous proceedings, justly and timely fearing to what a precipice of destruction the deluge of this epidemic madness would hurry us, through the general defection of a misguided and abused multitude.

BRIEF DELINEATION OF A FREE COMMONWEALTH.

[*In a Letter to General Monk.*]

First, all endeavors speedily to be used, that the ensuing election be of such as are already firm, or inclinable to constitute a free commonwealth (according to the former qualifications decreed in parliament, and not yet repealed, as I hear), without single person or house of lords. If these be not such, but the contrary, who foresees not that our liberties will be utterly lost in this next parliament, without some powerful course taken, of speediest prevention? The speediest way will be to call up forthwith the chief gentlemen out of every country; to lay before them (as your excellency hath already, both in your published letters to the army and your declaration recited to the members of parliament) the danger and confusion of readmitting kingship in this land, especially against the rules of all prudence and example, in a family once ejected, and thereby not to be trusted with the power of revenge. That you will not longer delay them with vain expectation, but will put into their hands forthwith the possession of a free commonwealth, if they will first return immediately and elect them, by such at least of the people as are rightly qualified, a standing council in every city and great town, which may then be dignified with the name of city, continually to consult the good and flourishing state of that place, with a competent territory adjoined; to assume the judicial laws, either those that are, or such as they themselves shall new make severally, in each commonalty, and all judicatures, all magistracies, to the administration of all justice between man and man, and all the ornaments of public civility, academies, and such like, in their own hands. Matters appertaining to men of several counties or territories may be determined, as they are here at London, or in some more convenient place, under equal judges.

Next, that in every such capital place they will choose them the usual number of ablest knights and burgesses, engaged for a commonwealth, to make up the parliament, or (as it will from henceforth

be better called) the Grand or general Council of the Nation, whose office must be, with due caution, to dispose of forces both by sea and land, under the conduct of your excellency, for the preservation of peace both at home and abroad; must raise and manage the public revenue, but with provident inspection of their accompts; must administer all foreign affairs, make all general laws, peace or war, but not without assent of the standing council in each city or such other general assembly as may be called on such occasion, from the whole territory, where they may, without much trouble, deliberate on all things fully, and send up their suffrages within a set time, by deputies appointed.

Though this grand council be perpetual (as in that book I proved would be best and most conformable to best examples), yet they will then, thus limited, have so little matter in their hands or power to endanger our liberty, and the people so much in theirs to prevent them, having all judicial laws in their own choice, and free votes in all those which concern generally the whole commonwealth, that we shall have little cause to fear the perpetuity of our general senate, which will be then nothing else but a firm foundation and custody of our public liberty, peace, and union, through the whole commonwealth, and the transactors of our affairs with foreign nations. If this yet be not thought enough, the known expedient may at length be used, of a partial rotation.

Lastly, if these gentlemen convocated refuse these fair and noble offers of immediate liberty and happy condition, no doubt there be enough in every county who will thankfully accept them, your excellency once more declaring publicly this to be your mind, and having a faithful veteran army, so ready and glad to assist you in the prosecution thereof. For the full and absolute administration of law in every county, which is the difficultest of these proposals, hath been of most long desired; and the not granting it held a general grievance. The rest, when they shall see the beginnings and proceedings of these constitutions proposed, and the orderly, the decent, the civil, the safe, the noble effects thereof, will be soon convinced, and by degrees come in of their own accord, to be partakers of so happy a government.

It was often said at the time that the two agencies which co-operated most visibly in raising the reputation of the Commonwealth abroad were Milton's books and Cromwell's battles. For ten years Milton held the "secretaryship for foreign tongues to the council of state" under Cromwell, standing in the closest relations to the government during the Commonwealth and the Protectorate, and being its principal literary representative and defender. His "Eikonoklastes" and his "Defences of the English People" produced an immense effect in Europe. The panegyric on Cromwell and his career in the second "Defence" remains to this day, as Masson has observed, "unapproached for elaboration and grandeur by any estimate of Cromwell from any later pen." Altogether Milton was as great as a politician as he was as a poet; and his fiery pamphlets, from that on "Reformation touching Church Discipline in England" (1641) and the

famous "Areopagitica" (1644) down to that on "The Way to establish a Free Commonwealth" (1660), reprinted in the present leaflet, are of the highest importance for every student of that stormy period. This vehement pamphlet was launched on the very eve of the Restoration, accompanied by the letter addressed to General Monk, which is also here published. "How Milton escaped the scaffold at the Restoration," as Masson well says, "is a mystery now, and was a mystery at the time."

There are excellent complete editions of Milton's Prose Works and select editions containing the works most important for the general reader. Masson's work on "Milton's Life and Times" is the great magazine of information. There are excellent brief biographies by Stopford Brooke, Garnett, and Mark Pattison; and the well-known essays by Channing, Macaulay, Lowell, Emerson, Matthew Arnold, Tulloch, Maurice, Rossetti, Phillips Brooks, and others are all worthy of the student's attention.

PUBLISHED BY

THE DIRECTORS OF THE OLD SOUTH WORK,
Old South Meeting-house, Boston, Mass.



Sir Henry Vane's Defence.

1662.

Vane, Sir Henry

SIR HENRY VANE, BEING COMMITTED FOR HIGH TREASON, HAD PREPARED THE FOLLOWING ARGUMENT FOR HIS DEFENCE BEFORE HE KNEW HOW THE INDICTMENT WOULD BE LAID.

His Intended Argument.

The offence objected against me is levying war, within the Statute 25 Edw. 3, and by consequence a most high and great failer in the duty which the subject, according to the laws of England, stands obliged to perform in relation to the imperial crown and sovereign power of England.

The crime, if it prove any, must needs be very great, considering the circumstances with which it hath been accompanied; for it relates to and takes in a series of public action, of above twenty years' continuance. It took its rise and had its root in the being, authority, judgment, resolutions, votes, and orders of a parliament, and that a parliament not only authorized and commissioned in the ordinary and customary way, by his majesty's writ of summons, and the people's election and deputation, subject to adjournment, discontinuance, and dissolution at the king's will, but which, by express act of parliament, was constituted in its continuance and exercise of its power free from that subjection, and made therein wholly to depend upon their own will to be declared in an act of parliament, to be passed for that purpose, when they should see cause. To speak plainly and clearly in this matter, that which is endeavored to be made a crime and an offence of such a high nature in my person is no other than the necessary and unavoidable actings of the representative body of the kingdom, for the preservation of the good people thereof in their allegiance and duty to God and his law, as also from the

imminent dangers and destruction threatened them, from God's and their own enemies.

This made both Houses in their Remonstrance, May 26, 1642, protest, if the malignant spirits about the king should ever force or necessitate them, to defend their religion, the kingdom, the privileges of parliament, and the rights and liberties of the subjects, with their swords: the blood and destruction that should ensue thereupon must be wholly cast upon their account, God and their own consciences telling them that they were clear, and would not doubt but that God and the whole world would clear them therein.

In his majesty's Answer to the Declaration of the two Houses, May 19, 1642, he acknowledgeth his going into the House of Commons to demand the five members was an error. And that was it which gave the parliament the first cause to put themselves in a posture of defence, by their own power and authority, in commanding the Trained-Bands of the city of London to guard and secure them from violence, in the discharge of their trust and duty, as the two Houses of parliament appointed by act, to continue, as above mentioned.

The next cause was his majesty's raising forces at York (under pretence of a guard), expressed in the humble Petition of the Lords and Commons, May 23, 1642, wherein they beseech his majesty to disband all such forces, and desist from any further designs of that nature, otherwise they should hold themselves bound in duty toward God, and the trust reposed in them by the people, and the fundamental laws and constitutions of this kingdom, to employ their care and utmost power to secure the parliament, and preserve the peace and quiet of the kingdom.

May 20, 1642, the two Houses of parliament gave their judgment in these votes: 1. "That it appears that the king (seduced by wicked counsels) intends to make war against the parliament, who in all their consultations and actions have proposed no other end to themselves but the care of his kingdoms and the performance of all duty and loyalty to his person. 2. That, whensoever the king maketh war upon the parliament, it is a breach of trust reposed in him by his people, contrary to his oath, and tending to the dissolution of this government. 3. That, whosoever shall serve or assist him in such wars are traitors by the fundamental laws of this kingdom, and have been so adjudged by two acts of parliament, and ought to suffer as traitors."

Die Jovis, Oct. 8, 1642, in the Instructions agreed upon by the Lords and Commons about the militia, they declare

“that the king (seduced by wicked counsel) hath raised war against the parliament, and other his good subjects.”

And by the Judgment and Resolution of both Houses, bearing date Aug. 13, 1642, upon occasion of his majesty's Proclamation for suppressing the present Rebellion, under the command of Robert, Earl of Essex, they do unanimously publish and declare “that all they who have advised, declared, abetted, or countenanced, or hereafter shall abet and countenance the said Proclamation, are traitors and enemies to God, the king and kingdom, and guilty of the highest degree of treason that can be committed against the king and kingdom, as that which invites his majesty's subjects to destroy his parliament, and good people, by a civil war, and by that means to bring ruin, confusion, and perpetual slavery upon the surviving part of a then wretched kingdom.”

The law is acknowledged by the king to be the only rule by which the people can be justly governed; and that, as it is his duty, so it shall be his perpetual, vigilant care to see to it: therefore, he will not suffer either or both Houses by their votes, without or against his consent, to enjoin anything that is forbidden by the law or to forbid anything that is enjoined by the law.

The king does assert in his Answer to the Houses' Petition, May 23, 1642, “that he is a part of the parliament, which they take upon them to defend and secure; and that his prerogative is a part of and a defence to the laws of the land.”

In the Remonstrance of both Houses (May 26, 1642) they do assert “that, if they have made any precedents this parliament, they have made them for posterity, upon the same or better grounds of reason and law than those were upon which their predecessors made any for them, and do say that, as some precedent ought not to be rules for them to follow, so none can be limits to bound their proceedings, which may and must vary, according to the different condition of times.” And for the particulars with which they were charged, of setting forth Declarations to the people who have chosen and intrusted them with all that is dearest to them, if there be no example for it in former times, they say, “it is because there never were such monsters before that attempted to disaffect the people toward a parliament.”

They further say “his majesty's towns are no more his care than his kingdom, nor his kingdom than his people, who are not so his own that he hath absolute power over them, or in them, as in his proper goods and estate, but fiduciary,

for the kingdom, and in the paramount right of the kingdom. They also acknowledge the law to be the safeguard and custody of all public and private interests. They also hold it fit to declare unto the kingdom (whose honor and interest is so much concerned in it) what is the privilege of the great council of parliament herein, and what is the obligation that lies upon the kings of this realm as to the passing such bills as are offered to them by both Houses, in the name and for the good of the whole kingdom, whereunto they stand engaged, both in conscience and justice, to give their royal assent."

First, in conscience, in respect of the oath that is or ought to be taken by them at their coronation, as well to confirm by their royal assent all such good laws as the people shall choose (whereby to remedy such inconveniencies as the kingdom may suffer) as to keep and protect the laws already in being. The form of the oath is upon record, and asserted by books of good authority. Unto it relation is had, 25 Edw. 3, entitled "The Statute of Provisors of Benefices."

Hereupon the said Commons prayed our said lord the king (saith the right of the crown of England, and the law of the said realm, is such that upon the mischiefs and damages which happen to this realm he ought and is bound by his oath, with the accord of his people in parliament, to make remedy and law for the removing thereof) that it may please him to ordain remedy.

This right thus claimed by the Lords and Commons the king doth not deny in his Answer thereunto.

Secondly, in justice the kings are obliged, as well as in conscience, in respect of the trust reposed in them, to preserve the kingdom by the making of new laws, where there shall be need, as well as by observing of laws already made; a kingdom being many times as much exposed to ruin for want of a new law as by the violation of those that are in being.

This is a most clear right, not to be denied, but to be as due from his majesty to his people as his protection. In all laws framed by both Houses, as Petitions of Right, they have taken themselves to be so far judges of the rights claimed by them that, when the king's Answer hath not been in every point fully according to their desire, they have still insisted upon their claim, and never given it over till the Answer hath been according to their demand, as was done in the late Petition of Right, 3 Caroli.

This shows the two Houses of parliament are judge between the king and people in question of right, as in the case also of

ship money and other illegal taxes; and, if so, why should they not also be judge in the cases of the common good and necessity of the kingdom, wherein the kingdom hath as clear a right to have the benefit and remedy of the law as in any other matter, saving pardon and grants of favor?

The malignant party are they that not only neglect and despise, but labor to undermine the law, under color of maintaining it. They endeavor to destroy the fountain and conservators of the law, the Parliament. They make other judges of the law than what the law hath appointed. They set up other rules for themselves to walk by than such as are according to law, and dispense with the subject's obedience to that which the law calls authority, and to their determinations and resolutions to whom the judgment doth appertain by law. Yea, though but private persons, they make the law to be their rule, according to their own understanding only, contrary to the judgment of those that are the competent judges thereof.

The king asserts that the act of Sir John Hotham was levying war against the king, by the letter of the Statute 25 Edw. 3, cap. 2.

The Houses state the case, and deny it to be within that statute, saying, If the letter of that statute be thought to import this,—that no war can be levied against the king but what is directed and intended against his person, or that every levying of forces for the defence of the king's authority and of his kingdom against the personal commands of the king, opposed thereunto (though accompanied with his presence), is treason or levying war against the king,—such interpretation is very far from the sense of that statute, and so much the statute itself speaks, besides the authority of book cases. For, if the clause of levying war had been meant only against the king's person, what need had there been thereof, after the other branch in the same statute, of compassing the king's death, which would necessarily have implied this? And, because the former doth imply this, it seems not at all to be intended, at least not chiefly in the latter branch, but the levying war against his laws and authority; and such a levying war, though not against his person, is a levying war against the king: whereas the levying of force against his personal commands, though accompanied with his presence, and not against his laws and authority, but in the maintenance thereof, is no levying of war against the king, but for him, especially in a time of so many successive plots and designs of force against the parliament and kingdom, of probable invasion from abroad, and of so great distance and alienation of his majesty's affections from his parliament and people, and of the particular danger of the place and magazine of Hull, of which the two Houses sitting are the most proper judges.

In proclaiming Sir John Hotham traitor, they say, The breach of the privilege of parliament was very clear, and the subversion of the subject's common right. For, though the privileges of parliament extend not to these cases, mentioned in the Declaration of Treason, Felony, and breach of the peace, so as to exempt the members of parliament from punishment or from all manner of process and trial,

yet it doth privilege them in the way and method of their trial and punishment, and that the parliament should first have the cause brought before them, that they may judge of the fact and of the grounds of their accusation, and how far forth the manner of their trial may or may not concern the privilege of parliament: otherwise, under this pretext, the privilege of parliament in this matter may be so essentially broken as thereby the very being of parliaments may be destroyed. Neither doth the sitting of a parliament suspend all or any law in maintaining that law which upholds the privilege of parliament, which upholds the parliament, which upholds the kingdom.

They further assert that in some sense they acknowledge the king to be the only person against whom treason can be committed, that is, as he is king, and that treason which is against the kingdom is more against the king than that which is against his person, because he is king; for treason is not treason, as it is against him as a man, but as a man that is a king, and as he hath, and stands in that relation to the kingdom, intrusted with the kingdom, and discharging that trust.

They also avow that there can be no competent judge of this or any the like case but a parliament, and do say that, if the wicked counsel about the king could master this parliament by force, they would hold up the same power to deprive us of all parliaments, which are the ground and pillar of the subject's liberty, and that which only maketh England a free monarchy.

The Orders of the two Houses carry in them law for their limits, and the safety of the land for their end. This makes them not doubt but all his majesty's good subjects will yield obedience to his majesty's authority, signified therein by both Houses of parliament, for whose encouragement, and that they may know their duty in matters of that nature, and upon how sure a ground they go that follow the judgment of parliament for their guide, they allege the true meaning and ground of that statute, 11 Hen. 7, cap. 1, printed at large in his majesty's Message, May 4. This statute provides that none that attend upon the king and do him true service shall be attainted or forfeit anything. What was the scope of this statute?

Answ. To provide that men should not suffer as traitors for serving the king in his wars according to the duty of their allegiance. But, if this had been all, it had been a very needless and ridiculous statute. Was it then intended (as they seem to make it that print it with his majesty's Message) that those should be free from all crime and penalty that should follow the king and serve him in war, in any case whatsoever, whether it was for or against the kingdom or the laws thereof? That cannot be; for that could not stand with the duty of their allegiance, which, in the beginning of this statute, is expressed to be "to serve the king for the time being in his wars, for the defence of him and the land." If therefore it be against the land (as it must be, if it be against the parliament, the representative body of the kingdom), it is a declining from the duty of allegiance,

which this statute supposes may be done, though men should follow the king's person in the war. Otherwise, there had been no need of such a Proviso in the end of the statute, that none should take benefit thereby that should decline from their allegiance.

That therefore which is the principal verb in this is "the serving of the king for the time being," which cannot be meant of a Perkin Warbeck, or any that should call himself king, but such a one as (whatever his title might prove, either in himself or in his ancestors) should be received and acknowledged for such by the kingdom, the consent whereof cannot be discerned but by parliament; the act whereof is the act of the whole kingdom, by the personal suffrage of the peers, and the delegate consent of the Commons of England. Henry VII. therefore, a wise prince, to clear this matter of contest, happening between kings *de facto* and kings *de jure*, procured this statute to be made, "that none shall be accounted a traitor for serving in his wars the king for the time being"; that is, for the present allowed and received by the parliament in behalf of the kingdom. And, as it is truly suggested in the preamble of the statute, it is not agreeable to reason or conscience that it should be otherwise, seeing men should be put upon an impossibility of knowing their duty if the judgment of the highest court should not be a rule to guide them. And, if the judgment thereof is to be followed, when the question is, Who is king? much more, when the question is, What is the best service of the king and kingdom? Those therefore that shall guide themselves by the judgment of parliament ought (whatever happen) to be secure and free from all account and penalties, upon the ground and equity of this statute.

To make the parliament countenancers of treason, they say, is enough to have dissolved all the bands of service and confidence between his majesty and his parliament, of whom, the law says, a dishonorable thing ought not to be imagined.

This conclusion, then, is a clear result from what hath been argued: that in all cases of such difficulty and unusualness, happening by the overruling providence of God, as render it impossible for the subject to know his duty by any known law or certain rule extant, his relying then upon the judgment and reason of the whole realm, declared by their representative body in parliament, then sitting, and adhering thereto and pursuing thereof (though the same afterwards be by succeeding parliaments judged erroneous, factious, and unjust), is most agreeable to right reason and good conscience; and, in so doing, all persons are to be free and secure from all account and penalties, not only upon the ground and equity of that statute, II Hen. 7, but according to all rules of justice, natural or moral.

A True Copy of the Prisoner's own Papers containing the Substance of what he pleaded on the said day of his Trial, June 6.

That, without any seeking of mine, I was chosen, by writ under the great seal, to serve as burgess for the town of Kingston upon

Hull, in the parliament that sat down on the 3d of November, 1640, and, having in pursuance thereof taken my seat in the said parliament, I was obliged by law to give my attendance upon the said trust, as well as upon grounds of duty and conscience.

The said parliament was not only called and assembled after the usual manner, and had the power and privileges incident to that high court, but was by express statute and consent of the three estates so constituted, as to its continuance, adjournment, prorogation, and dissolution, that in none of these particulars they were subject to alteration but by their own common assent, declared by act of parliament to be passed by themselves for that purpose, with the royal assent.

In the Preamble to the Act for Continuance of the said Parliament, these words are contained: "Whereas great sums of money must of necessity be speedily advanced and provided for the relief of his majesty's army and people in the northern parts of this realm, and for preventing the imminent danger this kingdom is in, and for supply of his majesty's present and urgent occasions, which cannot be so timely effected as is requisite without credit for raising the said moneys, which credit cannot be obtained until such obstacles be first removed as are occasioned by fears, jealousies, and apprehensions of divers his majesty's loyal subjects, that this present parliament may be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved, before justice shall be duly executed upon delinquents and public grievances redressed, a firm peace between the two nations of England and Scotland concluded, and before sufficient provision be made for the repayment of the said moneys so to be raised," &c. By all which the very work that was between the three estates agreed to be done for the good and safety of the kingdom was in sundry particulars declared and expressed; and not only so, but, as is acknowledged by the late king himself in his Answer to the Nineteen Propositions, the power which thereby was legally placed in both Houses was more than sufficient to prevent and restrain tyranny.

So that, by what hath been showed, the law itself is with me and for me, enjoining my continued attendance on the trust which by this means was committed to me, and authorized me in particular to effect the things contained in the said preamble, and to act in all matters belonging to the high court of parliament for the good and safety of the kingdom in time of imminent danger: I had been liable to great punishment by the law, for disattendance and deserting my station therein, till lawfully or by force dismissed therefrom; and this, whatever occasions others might have, by a voluntary or forced departure from attendance upon that trust.

The actions therefore done by me in this capacity, and according to the law, privileges, customs, and power of parliament, and that such a one as was thus extraordinarily constituted, neither are nor can be brought within the Statute of 25 Edw. 3, c. 2, nor are to be questioned, tried, much less judged and sentenced, in any inferior court. Nay, so far is it from this that by a declaration and resolution of parliament, Aug. 13, 1642, it is adjudged to be committing

treason in the highest degree to bring both or either Houses of parliament under that or such like imputations.

Nor, till of late, have I ever heard but that those who took the judgment of parliament for their rule and guide (however tortuous or erroneous it might afterwards be accounted in succeeding times), and they that acted by and under the countenance of their declared judgments, orders, or ordinances, ever acknowledged binding during the sitting of the parliament, were safe and indemnified from all punishment. And for government-sake itself it is requisite it should be so, because none are judges of the power and privileges of parliament but themselves. For admit once that their judgment may be called in question, and disputed by private persons or by inferior courts, whose votes are included in theirs, the fundamentals of government are plucked up by the roots. "*Par in pares non habet imperium, multò minus in eos qui majus imperium habent,*"—An equal has no command over his equal, much less over those that have a greater command or authority.

His late majesty, in his answer to the Nineteen Propositions, does very briefly and exactly state the nature and kind of government that is exercised in this kingdom, saying: "The laws of this kingdom are made by a King, a House of Peers, and a House of Commons, chosen by the People, all having free votes and particular privilege. These three estates making one incorporate body are they in whom the sovereignty and supreme power is placed, as to the making and repealing of laws. And the government, according to these laws, is trusted to the king, who in the interval of parliament is sole in the exercise of government, which, the parliament sitting, he is to exercise in conjunction with the two Houses."

And his said majesty asserting three sorts of government, Absolute Monarchy, Aristocracy, and Democracy, does most rightly distinguish the Monarchy of England from all those three, and commends the constitution of this kingdom, as it is a mixture of all three, having the conveniences of them all without the inconveniences of any one, as long as the balance hangs even between the three estates, that they run jointly on in their proper channels, and that the overflowing of either on either side raise no deluge nor inundation.

By the passing of the aforesaid act for the continuance of the forementioned parliament, the intervals of parliament were no longer, as before, at the will and pleasure of the king, but the power to continue in the said parliament, without adjournment, prorogation, or dissolution, resided in the two Houses with the king jointly, and in none of them severally, so that in effect the government of the kingdom, during the continuance of that parliament, was in conjunction of the three estates, and in their common consents and agreements among themselves given in parliament, the assembling and meeting whereof was appointed and fixed to a place certain, by law.

By reason hereof it is not the attendance of any of the members in parliament (for discharge of the trust reposed in them, confirmed and enlarged by the said act) that is faulty or censurable by the law, but those that unwarrantably depart and desert that their trust and station are to be blamed. 6 Hen. 8, 16.

The king, in conjunction with the parliament, is *maximè Rex*, and is supported in the throne and exercise of his regal power by the joint concurrence of both Houses. And because, as his late majesty well observed, the happiness and good of the constitution of this government lies in keeping the balance even between the three estates, containing themselves within the bounds of their proper channels, therefore in attempts of either to overflow those bounds, they being co-ordinate, the office of a parliament is, by the very fundamental constitution of the government, to keep this balance well poised. And to that end, as was before mentioned, his majesty's own words are, in his said Answer to the Nineteen Propositions, "that there was legally placed in both Houses a power more than sufficient to prevent and restrain the power of tyranny." If so, then are they the legal judges, when there is danger of tyranny, and have legal power to require their judgment and resolves to be obeyed, not only when arms are actually raised against them, but when they discern and accordingly declare a preparation towards it, else they may find it too late to prevent the power of tyranny. There is no greater attempt of tyranny than to arm against the parliament; and there is no visible way for the restraining such tyranny but by raising arms in their own and the kingdom's defence. Less than this is not sufficient, and therefore far from more than sufficient for the punishment of delinquents and restraint of tyranny.

Unto the king, in conjunction with his two Houses, according as is provided by the law in this capacity of his, as *maximè Rex*, was the duty of allegiance to be yielded by his subjects during the indissolved state of that parliament; for they were the king's great council and supreme court, exercising the known power and privileges that time out of mind have appertained to them, and been put forth by them, as the exigents of the kingdom have required, when differences have happened about the very title of the crown, in declaring the duty of the subject, by yielding their allegiance to kings *de facto*, when kings *de jure* have been kept out of possession. This our chronicles and the histories of former times do plentifully inform.

The causes that did happen to move his late majesty to depart from his parliament, and continue for many years, not only at a distance, and in disjunction from them, but at last in a declared posture of enmity and war against them, are so well known and fully stated in print (not to say, *written in characters of blood*) on both parts that I shall only mention it, and refer to it.

This matter was not done in a corner: the appeals were solemn, and the decision by the sword was given by that God who, being the judge of the whole world, does right and cannot do otherwise.

By occasion of these unhappy differences thus happening, most great and unusual changes and revolutions, like an irresistible torrent, did break in upon us, not only to the disjointing that parliamentary assembly among themselves (the head from the members, the co-ordinates from each other, and the Houses within themselves), but to the creating such formed divisions among the people, and to

the producing such a general state of confusion and disorder, that hardly any were able to know their duty, and with certainty to discern who were to command and who to obey. All things seemed to be reduced, and, in a manner, resolved into their first elements and principles.

Nevertheless, as dark as such a state might be, the law of England leaves not the subject thereof (as I humbly conceive) without some glimpses of direction what to do, in the cleaving to and pursuing of which I hope I shall not be accounted nor adjudged an offender; or, if I am, I shall have the comfort and peace of my actions to support me in and under my greatest sufferings.

The resolutions of all the judges in Calvin's Case, entitled Postnati, in the 7th book of Coke's Reports, and the learned arguments thereupon, afford me instruction even in this matter. It may be it is truly thence affirmed that allegiance is due only to the king, and how due is also showed.

The king is acknowledged to have two capacities in him, one a natural, as he is descended of the blood royal of the realm; and the body natural he hath in this capacity is of the creation of Almighty God, and mortal. The other is a politic capacity, in respect of which he is a body politic or mystical, framed by the policy of man, which is immortal and invisible. To the king, in both these capacities conjoined, allegiance is due; that is to say, to the natural person of the king, accompanied with his politic capacity, or the politic appropriated to the natural.

The politic capacity of the king hath properly no body nor soul; for it is framed by the policy of man.

In all indictments of treason, when any one does intend the death and destruction of the king, it must needs be understood of his natural body, the other being immortal. The indictment therefore concludes *contra ligeantiæ suæ debitum*, against the duty of his allegiance, so that allegiance is due to the natural body.

Admitting, then, that thus, by law, allegiance is due to the king (as before recited), yet it is always to be presumed that it is to the king, in conjunction with the parliament, the law, and the kingdom, and not in disjunction from or opposition to them; and that while a parliament is in being, and cannot be dissolved but by the consent of the three estates.

This is therefore that which makes the matter in question a new case, that never before happened in the kingdom, nor was possible to happen, unless there had been a parliament constituted, as this was, unsubjected to adjournment, prorogation, or dissolution, by the king's will. Where such a power is granted, and the co-ordinates thereupon disagree and fall out, such effects and consequents as these that have happened will but too probably follow. And, if either the law of nature or England inform not in such case, it will be impossible for the subjects to know their duty, when that power and command which ought to flow from three in conjunction comes to be exercised by all or either of them, singly and apart, or by two of them against one.

When new and never-heard of changes do fall out in the kingdom, it is not likely that the known and written laws of the land should be the exact rule; but the grounds and rules of justice contained and declared in the law of nature are and ought to be a sanctuary in such cases, even by the very common law of England, for thence originally spring the unerring rules that are set by the divine and eternal law, for rule and subjection in all states and kingdoms.

In contemplation hereof, as the Resolve of all the judges, it was agreed:—

1. That allegiance is due to sovereignty by the law of nature; to wit, that law which God, at the creation of man, infused into his heart for his preservation and direction, the law eternal. Yet it is not this law, as it is in the heart of every individual man, that is binding over many; or legislative, but as it is the act of a community, or an associated people, by the right dictates and persuasions of the work of this law in their hearts. This appears in the case of the Israelites, Judges, chaps. 20 & 21, cited in the 4th part of Coke's Institutes, where mention is made of a parliament, without a king, that made war, and that with their brethren; they met as one man to do it, in vindication of that justice unto which they were obliged even by the law of nature. This is that which Chancellor Fortescue calls political power here in England, by which, as by the ordinance of man, in pursuance of the ordinance of God, the regal office is constituted, or the king's politic capacity, and becomes appropriated to his natural person.

Thus politic power is the immediate efflux and offspring of the law of nature, and may be called a part of it. To this Hooker in his Ecclesiastical Polity agrees, and Selden on that subject.

The law of nature thus considered is part of the law of England, as is evident by all the best received law books, Bracton, Fleta, Lambard upon the Saxon laws, and Fortescue in the praise of the laws of England. This is the law that is before any judicial or municipal law, as the root and fountain whence these and all governments, under God and his law, do flow.

This politic power, as it is exercised in conjunction with and conformity to the eternal law, partakes of its moral and immutable nature, and cannot be changed by act of parliament. Of this law it is that Magna Charta, and the Charter of Forest, with other statutes rehearsed in the Petition of Right, are for the most part declaratory; for they are not introductive of any new law, but confirmations of what was good in all laws of England before. This agrees with that maxim, "*Salus Populi suprema Lex*," that being made due and binding by this law, which in the judgment of the community, declaring their mind by their own free chosen delegates and trustees in harmony with the eternal law, appears profitable and necessary for the preservation and good of the whole society.

This is the law which is put forth by the common consent of the whole realm, in their representative, and (according to the fundamental constitutions of this kingdom) is that with which the kings of this land, by the joint co-operation of the three estates, do make and repeal laws.

But through the disorders and divisions of the times these two powers, the regal and political (which, according to the law of England, make up but one and the same supreme authority), fell asunder, and found themselves in disjunction from an opposition to one another. I do not say the question is now, Which of these is most rightly (according to the principles of the law of nature and the law of England) to be adhered unto and obeyed? but unto whether power adherence is a crime in such an exigent of state? which, since it is such a new and extraordinary case, evidently above the track of the ordinary rules contained in the positive and municipal laws of England, there can be no color to bring it within the Statute of 25 Edw. 3, cap. 2, forasmuch as all statutes presuppose these two powers, regal and political, in conjunction, perfect unity, and subserviency, which this case does not, cannot admit. So exceeding new and extraordinary a case is it that it may be doubted whether and questioned how far any other parliament but that parliament itself that was privy to all its own actings and intentions can be an indifferent and competent judge. But, however, the point is of so abstruse and high consideration as no inferior court can or ought to judge of it, as by law books is most undeniable, to wit, Bracton, and others.

This, then, being the true state of the case, and the spring of that contest that ensued, and received its decision by the late war, the next consideration is how far I have had my share and part therein that by the laws is not warrantable, or by what appears in way of proof to the jury.

For the first, I shall crave leave to give you this account of myself, who have best known my own mind and intentions throughout, and would not now, to save my life, renounce the principles of that righteous cause which, my conscience tells me, was my duty to be faithful unto.

I do therefore humbly affirm that in the afore-mentioned great changes and revolutions, from first to last, I was never a first mover, but always a follower, choosing rather to adhere to things than persons, and (where authority was dark or dubious) to do things justifiable by the light and law of nature, as that law was acknowledged part of the law of the land; things that are *in se bona*, and such as, according to the grounds and principles of the common law, as well as the statutes of this land, would warrant and indemnify me in doing them. For I have observed by precedents of former times, when there have arisen disputes about titles to the crown, between kings *de facto* and kings *de jure*, the people of this realm wanted not directions for their safety, and how to behave themselves within the duty and limits of allegiance to the king and kingdom, in such difficult and dangerous seasons.

My Lord Coke is very clear in this point, in his chapter of Treasons, fol. 7. And, if it were otherwise, it were the hardest case that could be for the people of England; for then they would be certainly exposed to punishment from those that are in possession of the supreme power, as traitors, if they do anything against them or do not obey them. And they would be punishable as traitors by him

that hath right, and is king *de jure*, in case they do obey the kings *de facto*; and so all the people of England are necessarily involved in treasons, either against the powers *de facto* or *de jure*, and may by the same reason be questioned for it, as well as the prisoner, if the Act of Indemnity and the king's pardon did not free them from it. The security, then, and safety of all the people of England is by this means made to depend upon a pardon (which might have been granted or denied), and not upon the sure foundations of common law,—an opinion, sure, which (duly weighed and considered) is very strange, to say no more.

For I would gladly know that person in England, of estate and fortune, and of age, that hath not counselled, aided, or abetted, either by his person or estate, and submitted to the laws and government of the powers that then were; and, if so, then, by your judgments upon me, you condemn (in effigies, and by necessary consequence) the whole kingdom.

And if that be the law, and be now known to be so, it is worth consideration, whether, if it had been generally known and understood before, it might not have hindered his majesty's Restoration.

Besides, although, until this judgment be passed upon me, the people have apprehended themselves as free from the question, and out of danger, by reason of the act of indemnity and general pardon, yet, when it shall appear to them that such their safety is not grounded on the common law, nor upon the law of nature, but that against both these and their actions they are found faulty, and tainted with a moral guilt, and that as principals also (since in treason there are no accessaries), what terrifying reflections must this needs stir up in the mind of every man, that will be apt to believe his turn will come next, at least once in two years, as hath befallen me in my person, who (however I have been misjudged and misunderstood) can truly affirm that, in the whole series of my actions, that which I have had in my eye hath been to preserve the ancient, well-constituted government of England on its own basis and primitive righteous foundations, most learnedly stated by Fortescue in his book made in praise of the English laws! And I did account it the most likely means for the effecting of this to preserve it, at least in its root, whatever changes and alterations it might be exposed unto in its branches, through the blustering and stormy times that have passed over us.

This is no new doctrine in a kingdom acquainted with political power, as Fortescue shows ours is, describing it to be in effect the common assent of the realm, the will of the people or whole body of the kingdom, represented in parliament. Nay, though this representation (as hath fallen out) be restrained for a season to the Commons house, in their single acting, into which (as we have seen), when by the inordinate fire of the times, two of the three estates have for a season been melted down, they did but retire into their root, and were not hereby in their right destroyed, but rather preserved, though as to their exercise laid for a while asleep, till the season came of their revival and restoration.

And, whatever were the intents and designs of others who are to

give an account of their own actions. it is sufficient for me that at a time critical and decisive, though to my own hazard and ill-usage, I did declare my refusal of the Oath of Abjuration, which was intended to be taken by all the members of parliament, in reference to kingly government, and the line of his now majesty in particular. This I not only positively refused to take, but was an occasion of the second thoughts which the parliament reassumed thereof, till in a manner they came wholly at last to decline it,—a proof undeniable of the remoteness of any intentions or designs of mine as to the endeavoring any alteration or change in the government, and was that which gave such jealousy to many in the house that they were willing to take the first occasion to show their dislike of me, and to discharge me from sitting among them.

But to return to what I have before affirmed, as to my being no leading or first actor in any change: it is very apparent by my deportment at the time when that great violation of privileges happened to the parliament, so as by force of arms several members thereof were debarred coming into the House, and keeping their seats there. This made me forbear to come to the parliament for the space of ten weeks,—to wit, from the 3d of December, 1648, till towards the middle of February following,—or to meddle in any public transactions; and during that time the matter most obvious to exception, in way of alteration of the government, did happen. I can therefore truly say that, as I had neither consent nor vote at first in the Resolutions of the Houses, concerning the Non-Addresses to his late majesty, so neither had I in the least any consent in or approbation to his death. But, on the contrary, when required by the parliament to take an oath, to give my approbation *ex post facto* to what was done, I utterly refused, and would not accept of sitting in the Council of State upon those terms, but occasioned a new oath to be drawn, wherein that was omitted. Hereupon many of the Council of State sat, that would take the other.

In like manner the Resolutions and Votes for changing the government into a Commonwealth, or Free State, were passed some weeks before my return to parliament; yet afterwards, so far as I judged the same consonant to the principles and grounds declared in the laws of England for upholding that political power which hath given the rise and introduction in this nation to monarchy itself, by the account of ancient writers, I conceived it my duty, as the state of things did then appear to me, notwithstanding the said alteration made, to keep my station in the parliament, and to perform my allegiance therein to king and kingdom, under the powers then regnant (upon my principles before declared), yielding obedience to their authority and commands. And having received trust in reference to the safety and preservation of the kingdom, in those times of imminent danger, both within and without, I did conscientiously hold myself obliged to be true and faithful therein. This I did upon a public account, not daring to quit my station in parliament by virtue of my first writ. Nor was it for any private or gainful ends to profit myself or enrich my relations. This may appear as well by the

great debt I have contracted as by the destitute condition my many children are in, as to any provision made for them. And I do publicly challenge all persons whatsoever, that can give any information of any bribes or covert ways used by me, during the whole time of my public acting. Therefore, I hope it will be evident to the consciences of the jury that what I have done hath been upon principles of integrity, honor, justice, reason, and conscience, and not, as is suggested in the indictment, by "instigation of the devil or want of the fear of God."

A second great change that happened upon the constitutions of the parliament, and in them of the very kingdom itself, and the laws thereof (to the plucking up the liberties of it by the very roots, and the introducing of an arbitrary regal power, under the name of Protector, by force and the law of the sword), was the usurpation of Cromwell, which I opposed from the beginning to the end, to that degree of suffering and with that constancy that well near had cost me not only the loss of my estate, but of my very life, if he might have had his will, which a higher than he hindered; yet I did remain a prisoner, under great hardships, four months in an island, by his orders.

Hereby that which I have asserted is most undeniably evident, as to the true grounds and ends of my actions all along, that were against usurpation on the one hand or such extraordinary actings on the other as I doubted the laws might not warrant or indemnify, unless I were enforced thereunto by an overruling and inevitable necessity.

The third considerable change was the total disappointing and removing of the said usurpation, and the returning again of the members of parliament to the exercise of their primitive and original trust, for the good and safety of the kingdom, so far as the state of the times would then permit them, being so much, as they were, under the power of an army that for so long a time had influenced the government. Towards the recovery therefore of things again into their own channel, and upon the legal root of the people's liberties,—to wit, their common consent in parliament, given by their own deputies and trustees,—I held it my duty to be again acting in public affairs in the capacity of a member of the said parliament, then re-entered upon the actual exercise of their former power, or at least struggling for it. In this season I had the opportunity of declaring my true intentions as to the government, upon occasion of refusing the Oath of Abjuration before mentioned.

And whereas I am charged with keeping out his majesty that now is from exercising his regal power and royal authority in this his kingdom, through the ill-will borne me by that part of the parliament then sitting, I was discharged from being a member thereof about Jan. 9, 1660, and by many of them was charged, or at least strongly suspected, to be a royalist. Yea, I was not only discharged from my attendance in parliament, but confined as a prisoner at my own house, some time before there was any visible power in the nation that thought it seasonable to own the king's interest. And I

hope my sitting still will not be imputed as a failure of duty, in the condition of a prisoner, and those circumstances I was then in. This I can say, that from the time I saw his majesty's Declarations from Breda, declaring his intentions and resolutions as to his return, to take upon him the actual exercise of his regal office in England, and to indemnify all those who had been actors in the late differences and wars (as in the said Declaration doth appear), I resolved not to avoid any public question (if called thereto), as relying on mine own innocency, and his majesty's declared favor, as before said. And for the future I determined to demean myself with that inoffensiveness and agreeableness to my duty as to give no just matter of new provocation to his majesty in his government. All this, for my part, hath been punctually observed, whatever my sufferings have been. Nor am I willing in the least to harbor any discouraging thoughts in my mind as to his majesty's generosity and favor towards me, who have been faithful to the trust I was engaged in, without any malicious intentions against his majesty, his crown, or dignity, as before hath been showed; and I am desirous for the future to walk peaceably and blamelessly.

Whatever therefore my personal sufferings have been since his majesty's restoration, I rather impute them to the false reports and calumnies of mine enemies, and misjudgers of my actions, than reckon them as anything that hath proceeded from his majesty's proper inclination, whose favor and clemency I have had just reason, with all humility, to acknowledge.

First, with regard to his majesty's Speech, made the 27th of July, 1660, in the House of Peers, wherein his majesty expressly declared it to be no intention of his that a person under my circumstances should be excepted out of the Act of Indemnity, either for life or estate.

And, secondly, however it was the parliament's pleasure (myself unheard, though then in the Tower, and ready to have been brought before them) to except me out of the common indemnity, and subject me to question for my actions, yet they themselves of their own accord (admitting the possibility that in such questioning of me I might be attainted) made it their humble desire to his majesty that in such case execution, as to my life, might be remitted. Upon this his majesty readily gave his grant and assent. And I do firmly believe, if the Houses had pleased to give me the opportunity and leave of being heard, they would never have denied me the indemnity granted to the rest of the nation.

That which remains of further charge yet to me is the business of a regiment, an employment which I can in truth affirm mine own inclinations, nature, and breeding little fitted me for, and which was intended only as honorary and titular, with relation to volunteers, who, by their application to the Council of State, in a time of great commotions did propound their own officers, and (without any seeking of mine, or not considering any farther of it than as the use of my name) did, among others, nominate me for a colonel, which the Council of State approved, granting commissions to myself and all

other officers relating thereto; and the parliament confirmed my said commission, upon report thereof made to them.

This will appear by several witnesses I have to produce in this matter, that will be able to affirm how little I took upon me, or at all, to give any orders, or make use of such my commission, any otherwise than in name only.

It is true, indeed, that at a certain time, when I was summoned to appear at the Committee of the Militia, in Southwark, whereof I was a member, that which was called my own company of foot, from the respect which they and their officers pretended to me, were desirous to be in a posture fit for me to see them; and, as I passed by, I took the opportunity, at their desire, to show myself to them, and only, as taking notice of their respect, in some few words expressing the reason I had to receive it in good part, I told them I would no longer detain them from their other occasions. After I was gone from them, I appointed my captain-lieutenant to give them from me something to drink, as might be fitting on such an occasion, which, to my best remembrance, was 5*l.*; and he laid it out of his own money.

More than this, as I remember, was not done by me, so much as to the seeing any more the companies of that regiment gathered together or giving orders to them, which I publicly and avowedly declined, persuading the officers to lay down their charges in mine own example so soon as I discerned the intentions of the sitting down of the Committee of Safety, and the exorbitant power committed to them to exercise, and the way of proceedings by the army, in interesting themselves in the civil government of the nation, which I utterly disliked.

And although I forbore not to keep my station, in reference to the Council of State, while they sat, or as a Commissioner of the Admiralty, during the time by them appointed to act by parliamentary authority, and so had occasion to be daily conversant with the members of the Committee of Safety (whereof myself, with others that would not accept, were named). yet I perfectly kept myself disinterested from all those actings of the army, as to any consent or approbation of mine (however, in many things, by way of discourse, I did not decline converse with them), holding it my duty to penetrate as far as I could into their true intentions and actions, but resolving within myself to hold true to my parliamentary trust in all things wherein the parliament appeared to me to act for the safety and good of the kingdom. However, I was misinterpreted, and judged by them as one that rather favored some of the army, and their power.

Upon the whole matter there is not any precedent that ever both or either of the Houses of parliament did commit treason. For though privilege of parliament does not so hold in treason but that particular members may be punished for it, yet it is unprecedented that both or either Houses of parliament, as a collective body, ever did or could commit treason.

All the acts done in parliaments have been reversed indeed, and repealed, as what was done 11 Rd. 2 was repealed 21 Rd. 2 and

what was done 21 Rd. 2 was repealed 1 Hen. 4, 3, as appears by the printed Statutes. Yet I do not find that both or either House of parliament were declared traitors for what they did in those parliaments, or that any which acted under them suffered for the same in any inferior courts. And, surely, the reason is obvious. For they had a co-ordinacy in the supreme or legislative power for the making, altering, and repealing laws. And, if so, "par in parem non habet imperium." And, by authorities out of Bracton, Fleta, and others, it may appear what superiors the king himself hath (who yet hath no peer in his kingdom, "nisi curiam baronum"), God, law, and parliament.

And, if either or both Houses cannot commit treason, then those that act by their authority cannot. For "Plus peccat autor quam actor,"—The author offends more than the actor. If those that command do not nor can commit treason, how can those that act by their authority be guilty of it?

Further, I must crave leave to assert, by reason of what I see opened upon the evidence, that what is done in parliament, or by their authority, ought not to be questioned in any other court. For every offence committed in any court must be punished in the same, or in some higher, and not any inferior court. Now, the court of parliament hath no superior court, as is said in Coke's Jurisdiction of Courts. And the reason there given that judges ought not to give any opinion in a matter of parliament is because it is not to be decided by the common laws, but "secundum legem et consuetudinem parliamenti." This the judges in divers parliaments have confessed. And that reason is not to be waived, which the Lord Coke gives, that a man can make no defence; for what is said and acted there is done in council, and none ought to reveal the secrets of the House: every member hath a judicial voice, and can be no witness.

Reasons for an Arrest of Judgment, writ by the Prisoner, but refused to be heard by the Court.

I. I have been denied so much as to hear the Indictment read in Latin, as it is the original record of the court: yea, so much as a copy of it in English hath been denied me during the whole time of my trial, by the sight whereof I might be able to assign the defects of law that may be in it.* . . .

II. My second reason for an arrest of judgment is drawn from the issue that is joined in my case, which seems to depend chiefly upon matter of law, and that in such tender and high points as are only determinable in the high court of parliament. . . .

If the judges in the Resolves by them delivered, upon any of the particulars before alleged, have not declared that law that ought to guide them, but their particular judgments or opinions, as under-

*The first reason, which cannot here be printed in full, concerns illegal and unjust proceedings in his trial; the second, the question of a subject's relations to the *de facto* government as determining treason.

taking to guide the law, and that in points of so grand concern as to touch the subject's life, in case their judgments after should prove erroneous, the verdict given upon such errors must needs be illegal and void. Judgment therefore ought to be suspended till such time as the truth and certainty of the law may be fully argued and cleared, and that in the proper court for the hearing and judging of this case. If this be not done, but I be forthwith proceeded against (notwithstanding anything however rationally or legally alleged to the contrary) by such undue precipitation and given sentence, I am (contrary to Magna Charta, or law of the land) run upon and destroyed, without due form and course of law. And I am like to be deprived of estate and life upon no law or certain rule which was declared before the fact; no, nor before the trial. . . .

III. My third reason for an arrest of judgment is the manifest newness of this case, being such as never happened before in the kingdom, which withal is of so vast a consequence to people of all sorts and conditions within this realm as nothing more. And, being so (as I doubt not with your lordships' patience I shall make it appear), it is the known law, witnessed by Bracton and ancient approved law-books, that in such cases the judges in the inferior courts ought not to proceed, but bring it before the high court of parliament.

To prove therefore the newness of this case, besides what I have already alleged in my Defence, before the verdict, give me leave to add that which yet further shows the newness and extraordinariness thereof. And I beseech your lordships to let me go on without interruption in my endeavoring to make it out as clearly as God shall enable me, and as briefly also, not to spend too much of your time.

In general, I do affirm of this case that it is so comprehensive as to take in the very interests of heaven and earth: first, of God, the Universal Sovereign and King of kings; secondly, that of earthly sovereigns, who are God's vicegerents; as also the interests of all mankind, that stand in the relation of subjects to the one or both those sorts of sovereigns.

This in general. More particularly: Within the bowels of this case is that cause of God that hath stated itself in the late differences and wars that have happened and arisen within these three nations, and have been of more than twenty years' continuance, which, for the greater certainty and solemnity, hath been recorded in the form of a National Covenant, in which the generality of the three nations have been either implicitly involved or expressly concerned by the signing of their names.

The principal things contained in that Covenant were the known and commonly received duties, which either as men or as Christians we owed and stood obliged to perform either to God, the highest and universal King in church or state, or to our natural lord and sovereign, the kings of this realm, in subordination to God and his laws.

Again, it contains as well the duties which we owe to every particular and individual person, in their several stations and callings, as to the king in general, and our representative body in parliament assembled. These duties we are thereby obliged to yield and per-

form, in consistency with and in a just subordination and manifest agreeableness to the laws of God, as is therein expressed. And this also in no disagreement to the laws of the land as they then were.

By this solemn Covenant and Agreement of the three nations, giving up themselves in subjection to God and to his laws, in the first place, as the allegiance they owe to their highest Sovereign (as the Creator, Redeemer, Owner, and Ruler of all mankind), they have so far interested the Son of God in the supreme rule and government of these nations that nothing therein ought to be brought into practice contrary to his revealed will in the Holy Scriptures, and his known and most righteous laws.

This duty which we owe to God, the universal King, nature and Christianity do so clearly teach and assert that it needs no more than to be named. For this subjection and allegiance to God and his laws, by a right so indisputable, all are accountable before the judgment seat of Christ.

It is true, indeed, men may *de facto* become open rebels to God and to his laws, and prove such as forfeit his protection, and engage him to proceed against them as his professed enemies. But, with your lordships' favor, give me leave to say that that which you have made a rule for your proceedings in my case will indeed hold, and that very strongly, in this: that is to say, in the sense wherein Christ, the Son of God, is king *de jure*, not only in general, over the whole world, but in particular, in relation to these three kingdoms. He ought not to be kept out of his throne nor his visible government, that consists in the authority of his word and laws, suppressed and trampled under foot, under any pretence whatsoever.

And in the asserting and adhering unto the right of this highest sovereign, as stated in the Covenant before mentioned, the Lords and Commons jointly, before the year 1648, and the Commons alone afterwards, to the very times charged in the Indictment, did manage the war and late differences within these kingdoms. And, whatever defections did happen by apostates, hypocrites, and time-serving worldlings, there was a party amongst them that continued firm, sincere, and chaste unto the last, and loved it better than their very lives, of which number I am not ashamed to profess myself to be, not so much admiring the form and words of the Covenant as the righteous and holy ends therein expressed, and the true sense and meaning thereof, which I have reason to know.

Nor will I deny but that as to the manner of the prosecution of the Covenant to other ends than itself warrants, and with a rigid oppressive spirit, to bring all dissenting minds and tender consciences under one uniformity of church discipline and government, it was utterly against my judgment. For I always esteemed it more agreeable to the Word of God that the ends and work declared in the Covenant should be promoted in a spirit of love and forbearance to differing judgments and consciences, that thereby we might be approving ourselves "in doing that to others which we desire they would to us," and so, though upon different principles, be found joint and faithful advancers of the reformation contained in the Covenant, both public and personal.

This happy union and conjunction of all interests in the respective duties of all relations agreed and consented to by the common suffrage of the three nations, as well in their public parliamentary capacity as private stations, appeared to me a rule and measure approved of, and commanded by parliament, for my action and deportment, though it met with great opposition, in a tedious, sad, and long war, and this under the name and pretext of royal authority. Yet, as this case appeared to me in my conscience, under all its circumstances of times, of persons, and of revolutions inevitably happening by the hand of God and the course of his wise providences, I held it safest and best to keep my station in parliament to the last, under the guidance and protection of their authority, and in pursuance of the ends before declared in my just Defence.

This general and public case of the kingdoms is so well known by the declarations and actions that have passed on both sides that I need but name it, since this matter was not done in a corner, but frequently contended for in the high places of the field, and written even with characters of blood. And out of the bowels of these public differences and disputes doth my particular case arise, for which I am called into question. But, admitting it come to my lot to stand single in the witness I am to give to this glorious cause, and to be left alone (as in a sort I am), yet being upheld with the authority before asserted, and keeping myself in union and conjunction therewith, I am not afraid to bear my witness to it in this great presence, nor to seal it with my blood, if called thereunto. And I am so far satisfied in my conscience and understanding that it neither is nor can be treason, either against the law of nature or the law of the land, either *malum per se* or *malum prohibitum*, that, on the contrary, it is the duty I owed to God, the universal King, and to his majesty that now is, and to the Church and People of God in these nations, and to the innocent blood of all that have been slain in this quarrel. Nothing, it seems, will now serve, unless, by the condemnation passed upon my person, they be rendered to posterity murderers and rebels, and that upon record in a court of justice in Westminster Hall. And this would inevitably have followed if I had voluntarily given up this cause, without asserting their and my innocency, by which I should have pulled that blood upon my own head which now, I am sure, lie at the door of others, and, in particular, of those that knowingly and precipitately shall embrace their hands in my innocent blood, under whatsoever form or pretext of justice.

My case is evidently new and unusual, that which never happened before, wherein there is not only much of God and of his glory, but all that is dear and of true value to all the good people in these three nations. And, as I have said, it cannot be treason against the law of nature, since the duties of the subjects in relation to their sovereigns and superiors, from highest to lowest, are owned and conscientiously practised and yielded by those that are the assertors of this cause.

Nor can it be treason within the Statute of 25 of Edw. 3, since besides what hath been said of no king in possession, and of being

under powers regnant, and kings *de facto*, as also of the fact in its own nature, and the evidence as to overt acts pretended, it is very plain it cannot possibly fall within the purview of that statute. For this case, thus circumstantiated, as before declared, is no act of any private person, of his own head, as that statute intends; nor in relation to the king there meant, that is presumed to be in the exercise of his royal authority, in conjunction with the law and the two Houses of parliament, if they be sitting, as the fundamental constitutions of the government do require.

My lords, if I have been free and plain with you in this matter, I beg your pardon. For it concerns me to be so, and something more than ordinarily urgent, where both my estate and life are in such eminent peril; nay, more than my life, the concerns of thousands of lives are in it, not only of those that are in their graves already, but of all posterity in time to come. Had nothing been in it but the care to preserve my own life, I needed not have stayed in England, but might have taken my opportunity to withdraw myself into foreign parts, to provide for my own safety. Nor needed I to have been put upon pleading, as now I am, for an arrest of judgment, but might have watched upon advantages that were visible enough to me, in the managing of my trial, if I had consulted only the preservation of my life or estate.

No, my lords, I have otherwise learned Christ than to fear them that can but kill the body, and have no more that they can do. I have also taken notice, in the little reading that I have had of history, how glorious the very heathens have rendered their names to posterity, in the contempt they have showed of death (when the laying down of their life has appeared to be their duty) from the love which they have owed to their country.

Two remarkable examples of this give me leave to mention to you upon this occasion. The one is of Socrates, the divine philosopher, who was brought into question before a judgment seat, as now I am, for maintaining that there was but one only true God, against the multiplicity of the superstitious heathen Gods; and he was so little in love with his own life upon this account (wherein he knew the right was on his side) that he could not be persuaded by his friends to make any defence, but would choose rather to put it upon the conscience and determination of his judges to decide that wherein he knew not how to make any choice of his own, as to what would be best for him, whether to live or to die; he ingenuously professing that, for aught he knew, it might be much to his prejudice and loss to endeavor longer continuance in this bodily life.

The other example is that of a chief governor (Codrus) that, to my best remembrance, had the command of a city in Greece, which was besieged by a potent enemy, and brought into unimaginable straits. Hereupon the said governor makes his address to the Oracle, to know the event of that danger. The answer was "that the city should be safely preserved if the chief governor were slain by the enemy." He, understanding this, immediately disguised himself, and went into the enemy's camp, amongst whom he did so comport him-

self that they unwittingly put him to death, by which means immediately safety and deliverance arose to the city, as the Oracle had declared. So little was his life in esteem with him, when the good and safety of his country required the laying of it down.

Henry Vane was the one great Puritan who had a notable career both in Old England and New England. He was in Massachusetts from 1635 to 1637, for one year being governor of the colony, failing re-election on account of his championship of Mrs. Hutchinson and the toleration of her views. In England, during the stormy period of the Civil War, the Commonwealth, and the Protectorate, he stands out as the conspicuous, consistent champion of pure parliamentary government. His famous tract, "A Healing Question," published in 1656, is notable as containing the first proposition that a constitution should be framed by a general convention chosen for the purpose by the whole people,—“exactly the way,” says an English scholar, “which more than a century after was adopted by Washington and his immortal associates.” In “The People’s Case Stated,” the important paper written by Vane in his captivity, but unhappily almost inaccessible, his views of government may be best studied. “The Retired Man’s Meditations, or the Mystery and Power of Godliness,” is a statement of Vane’s mystical religious views, written during his retirement at Roby. A complete report of Vane’s trial, from which the essential portions of his defence given in the present leaflet are taken, together with an account of his execution and his speech on the scaffold, is included in Cobbett’s (Howell’s) “State Trials,” vol. vi.

By far the most important work on Vane is that by Professor James K. Hosmer, “The Life of Sir Henry Vane.” There are brief biographies by Forster in his “Statesmen of the Commonwealth,” by C. W. Upham in Sparks’s series of American biographies, and by J. B. Moore in his “Memoirs of American Governors.” See the address by Professor Diman in his “Orations” and the essay by Peter Bayne in his “Actors in the Puritan Revolution,” also Milton’s noble sonnet. “A Healing Question” is included among the Old South Leaflets, No. 6; and in the preface to his biography Professor Hosmer writes as follows: “This life of young Sir Henry Vane has been written at the instance of Mrs. Mary Hemenway, and is to be regarded as an outgrowth of the work undertaken by her to promote love of freedom and good citizenship, known as the Old South Work.”

PUBLISHED BY

THE DIRECTORS OF THE OLD SOUTH WORK,
Old South Meeting-house, Boston, Mass.



Washington's Addresses to the Churches.

Washington, George

TO THE MINISTERS, CHURCH-WARDENS, AND VESTRY-MEN OF THE
GERMAN LUTHERAN CONGREGATION, IN AND NEAR THE CITY
OF PHILADELPHIA.

APRIL 20TH, 1789.

GENTLEMEN,

While I request you to accept my thanks for your kind address, I must profess myself highly gratified by the sentiments of esteem and consideration contained in it. The approbation my past conduct has received from so worthy a body of citizens as that, whose joy for my appointment you announce, is a proof of the indulgence with which my future transactions will be judged by them.

I could not, however, avoid apprehending, that the partiality of my countrymen in favor of the measures now pursued, had led them to expect too much from the present government, did not the same Providence, which has been visible in every stage of our progress to this interesting crisis, from a combination of circumstances, give us cause to hope for the accomplishment of all our reasonable desires.

Thus partaking with you in the pleasing anticipation of the blessings of a wise and efficient government, I flatter myself that opportunities will not be wanting for me to show my disposition to encourage the domestic and public virtues of industry, economy, patriotism, philanthropy, and that righteousness which exalteth a nation.

I rejoice in having so suitable an occasion to testify the reciprocity of my esteem for the numerous people whom you represent. From the excellent character for diligence, sobriety, and virtue, which the Germans in general, who are settled in America, have ever maintained, I cannot forbear felicitating myself on receiving from so respectable a number

of them such strong assurances of their affection for my person, confidence in my integrity, and zeal to support me in my endeavours for promoting the welfare of our common country.

So long as my conduct shall merit the approbation of the wise and the good, I hope to hold the same place in your affections, which your friendly declarations induce me to believe I possess at present; and, amidst all the vicissitudes, that may await me in this mutable existence, I shall earnestly desire the continuation of an interest in your intercession at the throne of grace.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
IN THE UNITED STATES.

MAY, 1789.

GENTLEMEN,

I receive with great sensibility the testimonial given by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, of the lively and unfeigned pleasure experienced by them on my appointment to the first office in the nation.

Although it will be my endeavour to avoid being elated by the too favorable opinion, which your kindness for me may have induced you to express of the importance of my former conduct and the effect of my future services, yet, conscious of the disinterestedness of my motives, it is not necessary for me to conceal the satisfaction I have felt upon finding, that my compliance with the call of my country, and my dependence on the assistance of Heaven to support me in my arduous undertakings, have, so far as I can learn, met the universal approbation of my countrymen.

While I reiterate the professions of my dependence upon Heaven, as the source of all public and private blessings, I will observe, that the general prevalence of piety, philanthropy, honesty, industry, and economy seems, in the ordinary course of human affairs, particularly necessary for advancing and confirming the happiness of our country. While all men within our territories are protected in worshipping the Deity according to the dictates of their consciences, it is rationally to be expected from them in return, that they will all be emulous of evincing the sanctity of their professions by the innocence of their lives and the beneficence of their actions; for no man,

who is profligate in his morals, or a bad member of the civil community, can possibly be a true Christian, or a credit to his own religious society.

I desire you to accept my acknowledgments for your laudable endeavours to render men sober, honest, and good citizens, and the obedient subjects of a lawful government, as well as for your prayers to Almighty God for his blessing on our common country, and the humble instrument, which he has been pleased to make use of in the administration of its government.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE BISHOPS OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN
THE UNITED STATES.

MAY, 1789.

GENTLEMEN,

I return to you individually, and, through you, to your society collectively in the United States, my thanks for the demonstrations of affection and the expressions of joy, offered in their behalf, on my late appointment. It shall still be my endeavour to manifest, by overt acts, the purity of my inclinations for promoting the happiness of mankind, as well as the sincerity of my desires to contribute whatever may be in my power towards the preservation of the civil and religious liberties of the American people. In pursuing this line of conduct, I hope, by the assistance of Divine Providence, not altogether to disappoint the confidence, which you have been pleased to repose in me.

It always affords me satisfaction, when I find a concurrence in sentiment and practice between all conscientious men in acknowledgments of homage to the great Governor of the Universe, and in professions of support to a just civil government. After mentioning, that I trust the people of every denomination, who demean themselves as good citizens, will have occasion to be convinced, that I shall always strive to prove a faithful and impartial patron of genuine, vital religion, I must assure you in particular, that I take in the kindest part the promise you make of presenting your prayers at the throne of grace for me, and that I likewise implore the divine benediction on yourselves and your religious community.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE GENERAL COMMITTEE, REPRESENTING THE UNITED
BAPTIST CHURCHES IN VIRGINIA.

MAY, 1789.

GENTLEMEN,

I request that you will accept my best acknowledgments for your congratulation on my appointment to the first office in the nation. The kind manner in which you mention my past conduct equally claims the expression of my gratitude.

After we had, by the smiles of Heaven on our exertions, obtained the object for which we contended, I retired, at the conclusion of the war, with an idea that my country could have no farther occasion for my services, and with the intention of never entering again into public life; but, when the exigencies of my country seemed to require me once more to engage in public affairs, an honest conviction of duty superseded my former resolution, and became my apology for deviating from the happy plan which I had adopted.

If I could have entertained the slightest apprehension, that the constitution framed in the convention, where I had the honor to preside, might possibly endanger the religious rights of any ecclesiastical society, certainly I would never have placed my signature to it; and, if I could now conceive that the general government might ever be so administered as to render the liberty of conscience insecure, I beg you will be persuaded, that no one would be more zealous than myself to establish effectual barriers against the horrors of spiritual tyranny, and every species of religious persecution. For you doubtless remember, that I have often expressed my sentiments, that every man, conducting himself as a good citizen, and being accountable to God alone for his religious opinions, ought to be protected in worshipping the Deity according to the dictates of his own conscience.

While I recollect with satisfaction, that the religious society of which you are members have been, throughout America, uniformly and almost unanimously the firm friends to civil liberty, and the persevering promoters of our glorious revolution, I cannot hesitate to believe, that they will be the faithful supporters of a free, yet efficient general government. Under this pleasing expectation I rejoice to assure them, that they may rely on my best wishes and endeavours to advance their prosperity.

In the mean time be assured, Gentlemen, that I entertain a proper sense of your fervent supplications to God for my temporal and eternal happiness.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE MINISTERS AND ELDERS OF THE GERMAN REFORMED
CONGREGATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES.

JUNE, 1789.

GENTLEMEN,

I am happy in concurring with you in the sentiments of gratitude and piety towards Almighty God, which are expressed with such fervency of devotion in your address; and in believing, that I shall always find in you, and the German Reformed Congregations in the United States, a conduct correspondent to such worthy and pious expressions.

At the same time, I return you my thanks for the manifestation of your firm purpose to support in your persons a government founded in justice and equity, and for the promise, that it will be your constant study to impress the minds of the people intrusted to your care with a due sense of the necessity of uniting reverence to such a government, and obedience to its laws, with the duties and exercises of religion.

Be assured, Gentlemen, it is by such conduct very much in the power of the virtuous members of the community to alleviate the burden of the important office which I have accepted, and to give me occasion to rejoice, in this world, for having followed therein the dictates of my conscience.

Be pleased, also, to accept my acknowledgments for the interest you so kindly take in the prosperity of my person, family, and administration. May your devotions before the throne of grace be prevalent in calling down the blessings of Heaven upon yourselves and your country.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE DIRECTORS OF THE SOCIETY OF THE UNITED BRETH-
REN FOR PROPAGATING THE GOSPEL AMONG THE HEATHEN.

JULY, 1789.

GENTLEMEN,

I receive with satisfaction the congratulations of your society, and of the Brethren's congregations in the United States

of America. For you may be persuaded, that the approbation and good wishes of such a peaceable and virtuous community cannot be indifferent to me.

You will also be pleased to accept my thanks for the treatise* you presented, and be assured of my patronage in your laudable undertakings.

In proportion as the general government of the United States shall acquire strength by duration, it is probable they may have it in their power to extend a salutary influence to the aborigines in the extremities of their territory. In the mean time, it will be a desirable thing, for the protection of the Union, to co-operate, as far as the circumstances may conveniently admit, with the disinterested endeavours of your Society to civilize and christianize the savages of the wilderness.

Under these impressions, I pray Almighty God to have you always in his holy keeping.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE BISHOPS, CLERGY, AND LAITY OF THE PROTESTANT
EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE STATES OF NEW YORK, NEW
JERSEY, PENNSYLVANIA, DELAWARE, MARYLAND, VIRGINIA,
AND NORTH CAROLINA, IN GENERAL CONVENTION AS-
SEMBLED.

AUGUST 19TH, 1789.

GENTLEMEN,

I sincerely thank you for your affectionate congratulations on my election to the chief magistracy of the United States.

After having received from my fellow-citizens in general the most liberal treatment, after having found them disposed to contemplate, in the most flattering point of view, the performance of my military services, and the manner of my retirement at the close of the war, I feel that I have a right to console myself in my present arduous undertakings with a hope, that they will still be inclined to put the most favorable construction on the motives, which may influence me in my future public transactions.

The satisfaction arising from the indulgent opinion entertained by the American people of my conduct will, I trust, be some security for preventing me from doing any thing, which

*“An Account of the Manner, in which the Protestant Church of the *Unitas Fratrum*, or United Brethren, preach the Gospel and carry on their Mission among the Heathen.”

might justly incur the forfeiture of that opinion. And the consideration, that human happiness and moral duty are inseparably connected, will always continue to prompt me to promote the progress of the former by inculcating the practice of the latter.

On this occasion, it would ill become me to conceal the joy I have felt in perceiving the fraternal affection, which appears to increase every day among the friends of genuine religion. It affords edifying prospects, indeed, to see Christians of different denominations dwell together in more charity, and conduct themselves in respect to each other with a more Christian-like spirit, than ever they have done in any former age, or in any other nation.

I receive with the greater satisfaction your congratulations on the establishment of the new constitution of government, because I believe its mild yet efficient operations will tend to remove every remaining apprehension of those, with whose opinions it may not entirely coincide, as well as to confirm the hopes of its numerous friends; and because the moderation, patriotism, and wisdom of the present federal legislature seem to promise the restoration of order and our ancient virtues, the extension of genuine religion, and the consequent advancement of our respectability abroad, and of our substantial happiness at home.

I request, most reverend and respected Gentlemen, that you will accept my cordial thanks for your devout supplications to the Supreme Ruler of the Universe in behalf of me. May you, and the people whom you represent, be the happy subjects of the divine benedictions both here and hereafter.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE SYNOD OF THE REFORMED DUTCH CHURCH IN NORTH AMERICA.

OCTOBER, 1789.

GENTLEMEN,

I receive with a grateful heart your pious and affectionate address, and with truth declare to you, that no circumstance of my life has affected me more sensibly, or produced more pleasing emotions, than the friendly congratulations, and strong assurances of support, which I have received from my fellow-

citizens of all descriptions upon my election to the Presidency of these United States.

I fear, Gentlemen, your goodness has led you to form too exalted an opinion of my virtues and merits. If such talents as I possess have been called into action by great events, and those events have terminated happily for our country, the glory should be ascribed to the manifest interposition of an overruling Providence. My military services have been abundantly recompensed by the flattering approbation of a grateful people; and if a faithful discharge of my civil duties can insure a like reward, I shall feel myself richly compensated for any personal sacrifice I may have made by engaging again in public life.

The citizens of the United States of America have given as signal a proof of their wisdom and virtue, in framing and adopting a constitution of government without bloodshed or the intervention of force, as they, upon a former occasion, exhibited to the world, of their valor, fortitude, and perseverance; and it must be a pleasing circumstance to every friend of good order and social happiness to find, that our new government is gaining strength and respectability among the citizens of this country, in proportion as its operations are known and its effects felt.

You, Gentlemen, act the part of pious Christians and good citizens by your prayers and exertions to preserve that harmony and good will towards men, which must be the basis of every political establishment; and I readily join with you, that, "while just government protects all in their religious rights, true religion affords to government its surest support."

I am deeply impressed with your good wishes for my present and future happiness, and I beseech the Almighty to take you and yours under his special care.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY CALLED QUAKERS, AT THEIR
YEARLY MEETING FOR PENNSYLVANIA, NEW JERSEY, DEL-
AWARE, AND THE WESTERN PART OF MARYLAND AND
VIRGINIA.

OCTOBER, 1789.

GENTLEMEN,

I receive with pleasure your affectionate address, and thank you for the friendly sentiments and good wishes, which you express for the success of my administration and for my personal happiness.

We have reason to rejoice in the prospect, that the present national government, which, by the favor of Divine Providence, was formed by the common counsels and peaceably established with the common consent of the people, will prove a blessing to every denomination of them. To render it such, my best endeavours shall not be wanting.

Government being, among other purposes, instituted to protect the persons and consciences of men from oppression, it certainly is the duty of rulers, not only to abstain from it themselves, but, according to their stations, to prevent it in others.

The liberty enjoyed by the people of these States, of worshipping Almighty God agreeably to their consciences, is not only among the choicest of their *blessings*, but also of their *rights*. While men perform their social duties faithfully, they do all that society or the state can with propriety demand or expect; and remain responsible only to their Maker for the religion, or modes of faith, which they may prefer or profess.

Your principles and conduct are well known to me; and it is doing the people called Quakers no more than justice to say, that (except their declining to share with others the burthen of the common defence) there is no denomination among us, who are more exemplary and useful citizens.

I assure you very explicitly, that in my opinion the conscientious scruples of all men should be treated with great delicacy and tenderness; and it is my wish and desire, that the laws may always be as extensively accommodated to them, as a due regard to the protection and essential interests of the nation may justify and permit.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE ROMAN CATHOLICS IN THE UNITED STATES.

DECEMBER, 1789.

GENTLEMEN,

While I now receive with much satisfaction your congratulations on my being called by a unanimous vote to the first station in my country, I cannot but duly notice your politeness in offering an apology for the unavoidable delay. As that delay has given you an opportunity of realizing, instead of anticipating, the benefits of the general government, you will do me the justice to believe, that your testimony to the increase of the public prosperity enhances the pleasure, which I should otherwise have experienced from your affectionate address.

I feel, that my conduct in war and in peace has met with more general approbation, than could reasonably have been expected; and I find myself disposed to consider that fortunate circumstance, in a great degree, resulting from the able support and extraordinary candor of my fellow-citizens of all denominations.

The prospect of national prosperity now before us is truly animating, and ought to excite the exertions of all good men to establish and secure the happiness of their country, in the permanent duration of its freedom and independence. America, under the smiles of divine Providence, the protection of a good government, the cultivation of manners, morals, and piety, can hardly fail of attaining an uncommon degree of eminence in literature, commerce, agriculture, improvements at home, and respectability abroad.

As mankind become more liberal, they will be more apt to allow, that all those, who conduct themselves as worthy members of the community, are equally entitled to the protection of civil government. I hope ever to see America among the foremost nations in examples of justice and liberality. And I presume, that your fellow-citizens will not forget the patriotic part, which you took in the accomplishment of their revolution and the establishment of their government, or the important assistance, which they received from a nation in which the Roman Catholic religion is professed.

I thank you, Gentlemen, for your kind concern for me. While my life and my health shall continue, in whatever situation I may be, it shall be my constant endeavour to justify the favorable sentiments you are pleased to express of my conduct. And may the members of your society in America, animated alone by the pure spirit of Christianity, and still conducting themselves as the faithful subjects of our free government, enjoy every temporal and spiritual felicity.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE HEBREW CONGREGATION OF THE CITY OF SAVANNAH.

MAY, 1790.

GENTLEMEN,

I thank you, with great sincerity, for your congratulations on my appointment to the office, which I have the honor to hold

by the unanimous choice of my fellow-citizens; and especially for the expressions, which you are pleased to use in testifying the confidence, that is reposed in me by your congregation.

As the delay, which has naturally intervened between my election and your address, has afforded an opportunity for appreciating the merits of the federal government, and for communicating your sentiments of its administration, I have rather to express my satisfaction, than regret, at a circumstance, which demonstrates (upon experiment) your attachment to the former, as well as approbation of the latter.

I rejoice, that a spirit of liberality and philanthropy is much more prevalent than it formerly was among the enlightened nations of the earth, and that your brethren will benefit thereby in proportion as it shall become still more extensive. Happily, the people of the United States of America have, in many instances, exhibited examples worthy of imitation, the salutary influence of which will doubtless extend much farther, if, gratefully enjoying those blessings of peace, which, under the favor of Heaven, have been obtained by fortitude in war, they shall conduct themselves with reverence to the Deity, and charity towards their fellow-creatures.

May the same wonder-working Deity, who long since delivered the Hebrews from their Egyptian oppressors, and planted them in the promised land, whose providential agency has lately been conspicuous in establishing these United States as an independent nation, still continue to water them with the dews of Heaven, and to make the inhabitants of every denomination participate in the temporal and spiritual blessings of that people, whose God is Jehovah.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE CONVENTION OF THE UNIVERSAL CHURCH LATELY
ASSEMBLED IN PHILADELPHIA.

1790.

GENTLEMEN,

I thank you cordially for the congratulations, which you offer on my appointment to the office I have the honor to hold in the government of the United States.

It gives me the most sensible pleasure to find, that, in our nation, however different are the sentiments of citizens on

religious doctrines, they generally concur in one thing; for their political professions and practices are almost universally friendly to the order and happiness of our civil institutions. I am also happy in finding this disposition particularly evinced by your society. It is, moreover, my earnest desire, that all the members of every association or community, throughout the United States, may make such use of the auspicious years of peace, liberty, and free inquiry, with which they are now favored, as they shall hereafter find occasion to rejoice for having done.

With great satisfaction I embrace this opportunity to express my acknowledgments for the interest my affectionate fellow-citizens have taken in my recovery from a late dangerous indisposition; and I assure you, Gentlemen, that, in mentioning my obligations for the effusions of your benevolent wishes in my behalf, I feel animated with new zeal, that my conduct may ever be worthy of your favorable opinion, as well as such as shall, in every respect, best comport with the character of an intelligent and accountable being.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH AND SOCIETY AT MEDWAY,
FORMERLY ST. JOHN'S PARISH, IN THE STATE OF GEORGIA.

MAY, 1791.

GENTLEMEN,

I learn, with gratitude proportioned to the occasion, your attachment to my person, and the pleasure you express on my election to the Presidency of the United States. Your sentiments on the happy influence of our equal government impress me with the most sensible satisfaction. They vindicate the great interests of humanity; they reflect honor on the liberal minds that entertain them; and they promise the continuance and improvement of that tranquillity, which is essential to the welfare of nations and the happiness of men.

You overrate my best exertions, when you ascribe to them the blessings, which our country so eminently enjoys. From the gallantry and fortitude of her citizens, under the auspices of Heaven, America has derived her independence. To their industry, and the natural advantages of the country, she is indebted for her prosperous situation. From their virtue she

may expect long to share the protection of a free and equal government, which their wisdom has established, and which experience justifies, as admirably adapted to our social wants and individual felicity.

Continue, my fellow-citizens, to cultivate the peace and harmony, which now subsist between you and your Indian neighbours. The happy consequence is immediate. The reflection, which arises on justice and benevolence, will be lastingly grateful. A knowledge of your happiness will lighten the cares of my station, and be among the most pleasing of their rewards.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE NEW CHURCH IN BALTIMORE.

JANUARY, 1793.

GENTLEMEN,

It has ever been my pride to merit the approbation of my fellow-citizens, by a faithful and honest discharge of the duties annexed to those stations, in which they have been pleased to place me; and the dearest rewards of my services have been those testimonies of esteem and confidence, with which they have honored me. But to the manifest interposition of an overruling Providence, and to the patriotic exertions of United America, are to be ascribed those events, which have given us a respectable rank among the nations of the earth.

We have abundant reason to rejoice, that, in this land, the light of truth and reason has triumphed over the power of bigotry and superstition, and that every person may here worship God according to the dictates of his own heart. In this enlightened age, and in this land of equal liberty, it is our boast, that a man's religious tenets will not forfeit the protection of the laws, nor deprive him of the right of attaining and holding the highest offices that are known in the United States.

Your prayers for my present and future felicity are received with gratitude; and I sincerely wish, Gentlemen, that you may in your social and individual capacities taste those blessings, which a gracious God bestows upon the righteous.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Washington's addresses to the American churches, in reply to their congratulations upon his election to the presidency, constitute one of the most interesting divisions of his writings, and illustrate one of the noblest and most salutary features of his life and influence. The governors and legislatures of many of the states, the mayors and aldermen of leading cities, the presidents and trustees of colleges, and the representatives of organizations of various character sent formal addresses to him, expressing their satisfaction in his inauguration, and his replies to all were full of dignity and wisdom; but his replies to the churches, which, as they met in general convention or otherwise during the months succeeding his election, successively addressed him, are especially memorable for their revelations of his broad spirit of toleration and sympathy and their inculcation of the duty of fraternity and mutual respect which should always govern the various religious bodies living together in the free republic.

It has been well said that all lines of our national policy seem to lead back to Washington as all roads lead to Rome. If party spirit becomes extravagant and dangerous, we turn to him for the best words with which to rebuke it. If reckless politicians would postpone the public peace and embroil the nation for their own selfish purposes, his word and great example are their shame and the people's refuge; and, whenever bigotry and intolerance raise their heads, and men would stir up the animosity of one part of the people against another in the name of religion, Washington's addresses to the churches will still be appealed to by good citizens. Such will remember how he wrote to the Lutheran, the Presbyterian, the Methodist, the Baptist, the Episcopalian, the Quaker, the Universalist, the Swedenborgian, the Roman Catholic, and the Jew, reminding all of their common duties as citizens, and assuring all of the common protection of the national government, which knows no differences of creeds, but holds all creeds alike before the law.

"If I could have entertained the slightest apprehension," he writes to the Baptist churches in Virginia, whose struggle for toleration had been so hard and whose assertion of the principle of religious freedom is historic, "that the constitution framed in the convention where I had the honor to preside might possibly endanger the religious rights of any ecclesiastical society, certainly I would never have placed my signature to it; and, if I could now conceive that the general government might ever be so administered as to render the liberty of conscience insecure, I beg you will be persuaded that no one would be more zealous than myself to establish effectual barriers against the horrors of spiritual tyranny and every species of religious persecution. For you doubtless remember that I have often expressed my sentiments that every man conducting himself as a good citizen, and being accountable to God alone for his religious opinions, ought to be protected in worshipping the Deity according to the dictates of his own conscience." His words to the Quakers, emphasizing the same truth, are equally noteworthy. "It would ill become me," he writes to the representatives of his own church, "to conceal the joy I have felt in perceiving the fraternal affection which appears to increase every day among the friends of genuine religion. It affords edifying prospects, indeed, to see Christians of different denominations dwell together in more charity and conduct themselves in respect to each other with a more Christian-like spirit than ever they have done in any former age or in any other nation." In our own time, which has witnessed

much passion and prejudice against the Roman Catholics of the country, Washington's noble words in his address to the Roman Catholics in the United States should be especially remembered: "As mankind become more liberal, they will be more apt to allow that all those who conduct themselves as worthy members of the community are equally entitled to the protection of civil government. I hope ever to see America among the foremost nations in examples of justice and liberality; and I presume that your fellow-citizens will not forget the patriotic part which you took in the accomplishment of their revolution and the establishment of their government, or the important assistance which they received from a nation in which the Roman Catholic religion is professed." The following passage from his address to the Hebrews of Savannah is one of the finest passages in all of Washington's writings: "I rejoice that a spirit of liberality and philanthropy is much more prevalent than it formerly was among the enlightened nations of the earth, and that your brethren will benefit thereby in proportion as it shall become still more extensive. Happily, the people of the United States of America have, in many instances, exhibited examples worthy of imitation, the salutary influence of which will doubtless extend much farther if, gratefully enjoying those blessings of peace which under the favor of Heaven have been obtained by fortitude in war, they shall conduct themselves with reverence to the Deity and charity toward their fellow-creatures. May the same wonder-working Deity who long since delivered the Hebrews from their Egyptian oppressors and planted them in the promised land, whose providential agency has lately been conspicuous in establishing these United States as an independent nation, still continue to water them with the dews of heaven, and to make the inhabitants of every denomination participate in the temporal and spiritual blessings of that people whose God is Jehovah."

The student is referred to the valuable essay on "Washington's Religious Opinions," in Sparks's edition of Washington's Writings, vol. xii., appendix, p. 399. Two expressions of Washington, quoted in this essay, should be given here as well supplementing the addresses printed in the leaflet. To Lafayette Washington wrote, Aug. 15, 1787, alluding to the proceedings of the Assembly of Notables: "I am not less ardent in my wish that you may succeed in your plan of toleration in religious matters. Being no bigot myself, I am disposed to indulge the professors of Christianity in the church with that road to heaven which to them shall seem the most direct, plainest, easiest, and least liable to exception." Again, in a letter to Sir Edward Newenham, Oct. 20, 1792: "Of all the animosities which have existed among mankind, those which are caused by difference of sentiments in religion appear to be the most inveterate and distressing, and ought most to be deprecated. I was in hopes that the enlightened and liberal policy which has marked the present age would at least have reconciled *Christians* of every denomination so far that we should never again see their religious disputes carried to such a pitch as to endanger the peace of society."

Old South Leaflets.

The Directors of the Old South Studies in History ask the attention of schools and of all students of American history to the Old South Leaflets. These leaflets are reprints of important original papers, accompanied by useful historical and bibliographical notes. They are edited by Mr. Edwin D. Mead. They consist, on an average, of sixteen pages, and are sold at the low price of five cents a copy or four dollars per hundred, simply enough to cover the cost of publication. The Old South Work, founded by Mrs. Mary Hemenway and still sustained by provision of her will, is a work for the education of the people, and especially the education of our young people, in American history and politics; and its promoters believe that few things can contribute better to this end than the wide circulation of such leaflets as these. The aim is to bring valuable historical documents, often not easily accessible, within easy reach of everybody. It is hoped that professors in our colleges and teachers everywhere will welcome them for use in their classes, and that they may meet the needs of the societies of young men and women now being organized in so many places for historical and political studies. There are at present sixty-five leaflets in the series, and others will rapidly follow. The following are the titles of those now ready:—

No. 1. The Constitution of the United States. 2. The Articles of Confederation. 3. The Declaration of Independence. 4. Washington's Farewell Address. 5. Magna Charta. 6. Vane's "Healing Question." 7. Charter of Massachusetts Bay, 1629. 8. Fundamental Orders of Connecticut, 1638. 9. Franklin's Plan of Union, 1754. 10. Washington's Inaugurals. 11. Lincoln's Inaugurals and Emancipation Proclamation. 12. The Federalist, Nos. 1 and 2. 13. The Ordinance of 1787. 14. The Constitution of Ohio. 15. Washington's Circular Letter to the Governors of the States, 1783. 16. Washington's Letter to Benjamin Harrison, 1784. 17. Verrazzano's Voyage. 18. The Swiss Constitution. 19. The Bill of Rights, 1689. 20. Coronado's Letter to Mendoza, 1540. 21. Eliot's Narrative, 1670. 22. Wheelock's Narrative, 1762. 23. The Petition of Rights, 1628. 24. The Grand Remonstrance, 1641. 25. The Scottish National Covenant, 1638. 26. The Agreement of the People, 1648-49. 27. The Instrument of Government, 1653. 28. Cromwell's First Speech, 1653. 29. The Discovery of America, from the Life of Columbus by his Son, Ferdinand Columbus. 30. Strabo's Introduction to Geography. 31. The Voyages to Vinland, from the Saga of Eric the Red. 32. Marco Polo's Account of Japan and Java. 33. Columbus's Letter to Gabriel Sanchez, describing the First Voyage and Discovery. 34. Amerigo Vespucci's Account of his First Voyage. 35. Cortes's Account of the City of Mexico. 36. The Death of De Soto, from the "Narrative of a Gentleman of Elvas." 37. Early Notices of the Voyages of the Cabots. 38. Henry Lee's Funeral Oration on Washington. 39. De Vaca's Account of his Journey to New Mexico, 1535. 40. Manasseh Cutler's Description of Ohio, 1787. 41. Washington's Journal of his Tour to the Ohio, 1770. 42. Garfield's Address on the North-west Territory and the Western Reserve. 43. George Rogers Clark's Account of the Capture of Vincennes, 1779. 44. Jefferson's Life of Captain Meriwether Lewis. 45. Fremont's Account of his Ascent of Fremont's Peak. 46. Father Marquette at Chicago, 1673. 47. Washington's Account of the Army at Cambridge, 1775. 48. Bradford's Memoir of Elder Brewster. 49. Bradford's First Dialogue. 50. Winthrop's "Conclusions for the Plantation in New England." 51. "New England's First Fruits," 1643. 52. John Eliot's "Indian Grammar Begun." 53. John Cotton's "God's Promise to his Plantation." 54. Letters of Roger Williams to Winthrop. 55. Thomas Hooker's "Way of the Churches of New England." 56. The Monroe Doctrine. 57. The English Bible, Selections from the Various Versions. 58. Hooper's Letters to Bullinger. 59. Sir John Eliot's "Apology for Socrates." 60. Ship-money Papers. 61. Pym's Speech against Strafford. 62. Cromwell's Second Speech. 63. Milton's "Free Commonwealth." 64. Sir Henry Vane's Defence. 65. Washington's Addresses to the Churches.



Winthrop's "Little Speech" on Liberty.

FROM WINTHROP'S HISTORY OF NEW ENGLAND.

Winthrop, John

1645.] The court of elections was held at Boston. Mr. Thomas Dudley was chosen governour, Mr. Winthrop, deputy governour again, and Mr. Endecott, serjeant major general. Mr. Israel Stoughton, having been in England the year before, and now gone again about his private occasions, was by vote left out, and Herbert Pelham, Esquire, chosen an assistant.

This court fell out a troublesome business, which took up much time. The town of Hingham, having one Emes their lieutenant seven or eight years, had lately chosen him to be their captain, and had presented him to the standing council for allowance; but, before it was accomplished, the greater part of the town took some light occasion of offence against him, and chose one Allen to be their captain, and presented him to the magistrates (in the time of the last general court) to be allowed. But the magistrates, considering the injury that would hereby accrue to Emes (who had been their chief commander so many years, and had deserved well in his place, and that Allen had no other skill but what he learned from Emes), refused to allow of Allen, but willed both sides to return home, and every officer to keep his place until the court should take further order. Upon their return home, the messengers, who came for Allen, called a private meeting of those of their own party, and told them truly what answer they received from the magistrates, and soon after they appointed a training day (without their lieutenant's knowledge), and, being assembled, the lieutenant hearing of it came to them, and would have exercised them, as he was wont to do, but those of the other party refused to follow him, except he would show them some order

for it. He told them of the magistrates' order about it; the others replied that authority had advised him to go home and lay down his place honorably. Another asked what the magistrates had to do with them. Another, that it was but three or four of the magistrates, and, if they had been all there, it had been nothing, for Mr. Allen had brought more for them from the deputies than the lieutenant had from the magistrates. Another of them professeth he will die at the sword's point if he might not have the choice of his own officers. Another (viz., the clerk of the band) stands up above the people, and requires them to vote whether they would bear them out in what was past and what was to come. This being assented unto, and the tumult continuing, one of the officers (he who had told them that authority had advised the lieutenant to go home and lay down his place) required Allen to take the captain's place; but, he not then accepting it, they put it to the vote whether he should be their captain. The vote passing for it, he then told the company it was now past question; and thereupon Allen accepted it, and exercised the company two or three days, only about a third part of them followed the lieutenant. He, having denied in the open field that authority had advised him to lay down his place, and putting (in some sort) the lie upon those who had so reported, was the next Lord's day called to answer it before the church; and, he standing to maintain what he had said, five witnesses were produced to convince him. Some of them affirmed the words, the others explained their meaning to be that one magistrate had so advised him. He denied both. Whereupon the pastor, one Mr. Hubbert (brother to three of the principal in this sedition), was very forward to have excommunicated the lieutenant presently; but, upon some opposition, it was put off to the next day. Thereupon the lieutenant and some three or four more of the chief men of the town inform four of the next magistrates of these proceedings, who forthwith met at Boston about it (viz., the deputy governour, the serjeant major general, the secretary, and Mr. Hibbins). These, considering the case, sent warrant to the constable to attach some of the principal offenders (viz., three of the Hubbards and two more) to appear before them at Boston, to find sureties for their appearance at the next court, etc. Upon the day they came to Boston; but their said brother the minister came before them, and fell to expostulate with the said magistrates about the said cause, complaining against the

complainants, as talebearers, etc., taking it very disdainfully that his brethren should be sent for by a constable, with other high speeches, which were so provoking, as some of the magistrates told him, that, were it not for respect to his ministry, they would commit him. When his brethren and the rest were come in, the matters of the information were laid to their charge, which they denied for the most part. So they were bound over (each for other) to the next court of assistants. After this five others were sent for by summons (these were only for speaking untruths of the magistrates in the church). They came before the deputy governour, when he was alone, and demanded the cause of their sending for, and to know their accusers. The deputy told them so much of the cause as he could remember, and referred them to the secretary for a copy, and for their accusers he told them they knew both the men and the matter, neither was a judge bound to let a criminal offender know his accusers before the day of trial, but only in his own discretion, least the accuser might be taken off or perverted, etc. Being required to give bond for their appearance, etc., they refused. The deputy labored to let them see their error, and gave them time to consider of it. About fourteen days after, seeing two of them in the court (which was kept by those four magistrates for smaller causes), the deputy required them again to enter bond for their appearance, etc., and upon their second refusal committed them in that open court.

The general court falling out before the court of assistants, the Hubberts and the two which were committed, and others of Hingham, about ninety (whereof Mr. Hubbert their minister was the first), presented a petition to the general court to this effect, that whereas some of them had been bound over, and others committed by some of the magistrates for words spoken concerning the power of the general court, and their liberties, and the liberties of the church, etc., they craved that the court would hear the cause, etc. This was first presented to the deputies, who sent it to the magistrates, desiring their concurrence with them, that the cause might be heard, etc. The magistrates, marvelling that they would grant such a petition, without desiring conference first with themselves, whom it so much concerned, returned answer that they were willing the cause should be heard, so as the petitioners would name the magistrates whom they intended, and the matters they would

lay to their charge, etc. Upon this the deputies demanded of the petitioners' agents (who were then deputies of the court) to have satisfaction in those points; thereupon they singled out the deputy governour, and two of the petitioners undertook the prosecution. Then the petition was returned again to the magistrates for their consent, etc., who being desirous that the deputies might take notice how prejudicial to authority and the honor of the court it would be to call a magistrate to answer criminally in a cause, wherein nothing of that nature could be laid to his charge, and that without any private examination preceding, did intimate so much to the deputies (though not directly, yet plainly enough), showing them that nothing criminal, etc., was laid to his charge, and that the things objected were the act of the court, etc., yet, if they would needs have a hearing, they would join in it. And indeed it was the desire of the deputy (knowing well how much himself and the other magistrates did suffer in the cause, through the slanderous reports wherewith the deputies and the country about had been possessed) that the cause might receive a public hearing.

The day appointed being come, the court assembled in the meeting house at Boston. Divers of the elders were present, and a great assembly of people. The deputy governour, coming in with the rest of the magistrates, placed himself beneath within the bar, and so sate uncovered. Some question was in the court about his being in that place (for many both of the court and the assembly were grieved at it). But the deputy telling them that, being criminally accused, he might not sit as a judge in that cause, and, if he were upon the bench, it would be a great disadvantage to him, for he could not take that liberty to plead the cause, which he ought to be allowed at the bar, upon this the court was satisfied.

The petitioners having declared their grievances, etc., the deputy craved leave to make answer, which was to this effect; viz., that he accounted it no disgrace, but rather an honor put upon him, to be singled out from his brethren in the defence of a cause so just (as he hoped to make that appear) and of so public concernment. And although he might have pleaded to the petition, and so have demurred in law upon three points, 1, in that there is nothing laid to his charge that is either criminal or unjust; 2, if he had been mistaken either in the law or in the state of the case, yet whether it were such as a

judge is to be called in question for as a delinquent, where it doth not appear to be wickedness or wilfulness, for in England many erroneous judgments are reversed, and errors in proceedings rectified, and yet the judges not called in question about them; 3, in that being thus singled out from three other of the magistrates, and to answer by himself for some things, which were the act of a court, he is deprived of the just means of his defence, for many things may be justified as done by four, which are not warrantable if done by one alone, and the records of a court are a full justification of any act, while such record stands in force. But he was willing to waive this plea, and to make answer to the particular charges, to the end that the truth of the case and of all proceedings thereupon might appear to all men.

Hereupon the court proceeded to examine the whole cause. The deputy justified all the particulars laid to his charge, as that upon credible information of such a mutinous practice, and open disturbance of the peace, and slighting of authority, the offenders were sent for, the principal by warrant to the constable to bring them, and others by summons, and that some were bound over to the next court of assistants, and others that refused to be bound were committed; and all this according to the equity of laws here established, and the custom and laws of England, and our constant practice here these fifteen years. And for some speeches he was charged with as spoken to the delinquents, when they came before him at his house, when none were present with him but themselves, first he appealed to the judgment of the court, whether delinquents may be received as competent witnesses against a magistrate in such a case; then, for the words themselves, some he justified, some he explained so as no advantage could be taken of them, as that he should say that the magistrates could try some criminal causes without a jury, that he knew no law of God or man which required a judge to make known to the party his accusers (or rather witnesses) before the cause came to hearing. But two of them charged him to have said that it was against the law of God and man so to do, which had been absurd; for the deputy professed he knew no law against it, only a judge may sometimes, in discretion, conceal their names, etc., least they should be tampered with or conveyed out of the way, etc.

Two of the magistrates and many of the deputies were of opinion that the magistrates exercised too much power, and

that the people's liberty was thereby in danger; and other of the deputies (being about half) and all the rest of the magistrates were of a different judgment, and that authority was overmuch slighted, which, if not timely remedied, would endanger the commonwealth, and bring us to a mere democracy. By occasion of this difference, there was not so orderly carriage at the hearing as was meet, each side striving unseasonably to enforce the evidence, and declaring their judgments thereupon, which should have been reserved to a more private debate (as after it was), so as the best part of two days was spent in this public agitation and examination of witnesses, etc. This being ended, a committee was chosen of magistrates and deputies who stated the case, as it appeared upon the whole pleading and evidence, though it cost much time, and with great difficulty did the committee come to accord upon it.

The case being stated and agreed, the magistrates and deputies considered it apart; first the deputies, having spent a whole day, and not attaining to any issue, sent up to the magistrates to have their thoughts about it, who, taking it into consideration (the deputy always withdrawing when that matter came into debate), agreed upon these four points chiefly: 1. That the petition was false and scandalous; 2. That those who were bound over, etc., and others that were parties to the disturbance at Hingham, were all offenders, though in different degrees; 3. That they and the petitioners were to be censured; 4. That the deputy governour ought to be acquit and righted, etc. This being sent down to the deputies, they spent divers days about it, and made two or three returns to the magistrates; and though they found the petition false and scandalous, and so voted it, yet they would not agree to any censure. The magistrates, on the other side, were resolved for censure, and for the deputy's full acquittal. The deputies being thus hard held to it, and growing weary of the court, for it began (3) 14, and brake not up (save one week) till (5) 5, were content they should pay the charges of the court. After, they were drawn to consent to some small fines, but in this they would have drawn in lieutenant Emes to have been fined deeply, he being neither plaintiff nor defendant, but an informer only, and had made good all the points of his information, and no offence found in him other than that which was after adjudged worthy admonition only; and they would have imposed the charges of the court upon the whole trained band at Hingham, when it

was apparent that divers were innocent, and had no hand in any of these proceedings. The magistrates not consenting to so manifest injustice, they sent to the deputies to desire them to join with them in calling in the help of the elders (for they were now assembled at Cambridge from all parts of the United Colonies, and divers of them were present when the cause was publicly heard, and declared themselves much grieved to see that the deputy governour should be called forth to answer as a delinquent in such a case as this was, and one of them, in the name of the rest, had written to him to that effect, fearing least he should apprehend over deeply of the injury, etc.); but the deputies would by no means consent thereto, for they knew that many of the elders understood the cause, and were more careful to uphold the honor and power of the magistrates than themselves well liked of, and many of them (at the request of the elder and others of the church of Hingham during this court) had been at Hingham, to see if they could settle peace in the church there, and found the elder and others the petitioners in great fault, etc. After this (upon motion of the deputies) it was agreed to refer the cause to arbitrators, according to an order of court, when the magistrates and deputies cannot agree, etc. The magistrates named six of the elders of the next towns, and left it to them to choose any three or four of them, and required them to name six others. The deputies finding themselves now at the wall, and not daring to trust the elders with the cause, they sent to desire that six of themselves might come and confer with the magistrates, which being granted, they came, and at last came to this agreement; viz., the chief petitioners and the rest of the offenders were severally fined (all their fines not amounting to 50 pounds), the rest of the petitioners to bear equal share to 50 pounds more towards the charges of the court (two of the principal offenders were the deputies of the town, Joshua Hubbert and Bozone Allen, the first was fined 20 pounds, and the other 5 pounds), lieutenant Emes to be under admonition, the deputy governour to be legally and publicly acquit of all that was laid to his charge.

According to this agreement, (5) 3, presently after the lecture the magistrates and deputies took their places in the meeting house, and the people being come together, and the deputy governour placing himself within the bar, as at the time of the hearing, etc., the governour read the sentence of the court, without speaking any more, for the deputies had (by importu-

nity) obtained a promise of silence from the magistrates. Then was the deputy governour desired by the court to go up and take his place again upon the bench, which he did accordingly, and, the court being about to arise, he desired leave for a little speech, which was to this effect : —

I suppose something may be expected from me upon this charge that is befallen me, which moves me to speak now to you ; yet I intend not to intermeddle in the proceedings of the court, or with any of the persons concerned therein. Only I bless God that I see an issue of this troublesome business. I also acknowledge the justice of the court, and, for mine own part, I am well satisfied, I was publicly charged, and I am publicly and legally acquitted, which is all I did expect or desire. And though this be sufficient for my justification before men, yet not so before the God who hath seen so much amiss in my dispensations (and even in this affair) as calls me to be humble. For to be publicly and criminally charged in this court is matter of humiliation (and I desire to make a right use of it). notwithstanding I be thus acquitted. If her father had spit in her face (saith the Lord concerning Miriam), should she not have been ashamed seven days ? Shame had lien upon her, whatever the occasion had been. I am unwilling to stay you from your urgent affairs, yet give me leave (upon this special occasion) to speak a little more to this assembly. It may be of some good use to inform and rectify the judgments of some of the people, and may prevent such distempers as have arisen amongst us. The great questions that have troubled the country are about the authority of the magistrates and the liberty of the people. It is yourselves who have called us to this office, and, being called by you, we have our authority from God, in way of an ordinance, such as hath the image of God eminently stamped upon it, the contempt and violation whereof hath been vindicated with examples of divine vengeance. I entreat you to consider that, when you choose magistrates, you take them from among yourselves, men subject to like passions as you are. Therefore, when you see infirmities in us, you should reflect upon your own, and that would make you bear the more with us, and not be severe censurers of the failings of your magistrates, when you have continual experience of the like infirmities in yourselves and others. We account him a good servant who breaks not his covenant. The covenant between you and us is the oath you have taken of us, which is to this purpose, that we shall govern you and judge your causes by the rules of God's laws and our own, according to our best skill. When you agree with a workman to build you a ship or house, etc., he undertakes as well for his skill as for his faithfulness : for it is his profession, and you pay him for both. But, when you call one to be a magistrate, he doth not profess nor undertake to have sufficient skill

for that office, nor can you furnish him with gifts, etc., therefore you must run the hazard of his skill and ability. But if he fail in faithfulness, which by his oath he is bound unto, that he must answer for. If it fall out that the case be clear to common apprehension, and the rule clear also, if he transgress here, the error is not in the skill, but in the evil of the will: it must be required of him. But if the case be doubtful, or the rule doubtful, to men of such understanding and parts as your magistrates are, if your magistrates should err here, yourselves must bear it.

For the other point concerning liberty, I observe a great mistake in the country about that. There is a twofold liberty, natural (I mean as our nature is now corrupt) and civil or federal. The first is common to man with beasts and other creatures. By this, man as he stands in relation to man simply, hath liberty to do what he lists: it is a liberty to evil as well as to good. This liberty is incompatible and inconsistent with authority, and cannot endure the least restraint of the most just authority. The exercise and maintaining of this liberty makes men grow more evil, and in time to be worse than brute beasts: *omnes sumus licentia deteriores*. This is that great enemy of truth and peace, that wild beast, which all the ordinances of God are bent against, to restrain and subdue it. The other kind of liberty I call civil or federal; it may also be termed moral, in reference to the covenant between God and man, in the moral law, and the politic covenants and constitutions, amongst men themselves. This liberty is the proper end and object of authority, and cannot subsist without it; and it is a liberty to that only which is good, just, and honest. This liberty you are to stand for, with the hazard (not only of your goods, but) of your lives, if need be. Whatsoever crosseth this is not authority, but a distemper thereof. This liberty is maintained and exercised in a way of subjection to authority; it is of the same kind of liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free. The woman's own choice makes such a man her husband; yet, being so chosen, he is her lord, and she is to be subject to him, yet in a way of liberty, not of bondage; and a true wife accounts her subjection her honor and freedom, and would not think her condition safe and free but in her subjection to her husband's authority. Such is the liberty of the church under the authority of Christ, her king and husband: his yoke is so easy and sweet to her as a bride's ornaments: and if through frowardness or wantonness, etc., she shake it off, at any time, she is at no rest in her spirit until she take it up again; and whether her lord smiles upon her, and embraceth her in his arms, or whether he frowns, or rebukes, or smites her, she apprehends the sweetness of his love in all, and is refreshed, supported, and instructed by every such dispensation of his authority over her. On the other side, ye know who they are that complain of this yoke and say, let us break their bands, etc., we will not have this man to rule over us. Even so, brethren, it will be between you and your magis-

trates. If you stand for your natural corrupt liberties, and will do what is good in your own eyes, you will not endure the least weight of authority, but will murmur, and oppose, and be always striving to shake off that yoke; but if you will be satisfied to enjoy such civil and lawful liberties, such as Christ allows you, then will you quietly and cheerfully submit unto that authority which is set over you, in all the administrations of it, for your good. Wherein, if we fail at any time, we hope we shall be willing (by God's assistance) to hearken to good advice from any of you, or in any other way of God; so shall your liberties be preserved, in upholding the honor and power of authority amongst you.

The deputy governour having ended his speech, the court arose, and the magistrates and deputies retired to attend their other affairs. Many things were observable in the agitation and proceedings about this case. It may be of use to leave a memorial of some of the most material, that our posterity and others may behold the workings of Satan to ruin the colonies and Churches of Christ in New England, and into what distempers a wise and godly people may fall in times of temptation; and, when such have entertained some false and plausible principles, what deformed superstructures they will raise thereupon, and with what unreasonable obstinacy they will maintain them.

Some of the deputies had seriously conceived that the magistrates affected an arbitrary government, and that they had (or sought to have) an unlimited power to do what they pleased without control, and that, for this end, they did strive so much to keep their negative power in the general court. This caused them to interpret all the magistrates' actions and speeches (not complying exactly with their own principles) as tending that way, by which occasions their fears and jealousies increased daily. For prevention whereof they judged it not unlawful to use even extrema remedia, as if *salus populi* had been now the transcendant rule to walk by, and that magistracy must be no other, in effect, than a ministerial office, and all authority, both legislative, consultative, and judicial, must be exercised by the people in their body representative. Hereupon they labored, *equis et velis*, to take away the negative vote. Failing of that, they pleaded that the magistrates had no power out of the general court, but what must be derived from the general court; and so they would have put upon them commissions, for what was to be done in the vacancy of the

general court, and some of themselves to be joined with the magistrates, and some of the magistrates left out. This not being yielded unto, recourse was had to the elders for advice, and the case stated, with incredible wariness; but the elders casting the cause against them (as is before declared), they yet believed (or at least would that others should) that the elders' advice was as much for them in their sense as for the magistrates (and, if it were, they had no cause to shun the advice of the elders, as they have seemed to do ever since). This project not prevailing, the next is, for such a body of laws, with pre-script penalties in all cases, as nothing might be left to the discretion of the magistrates (while in the mean time there is no fear of any danger in reserving a liberty for their own discretion in every case), many laws are agreed upon, some are not assented unto by the magistrates not finding them just. Then is it given out that the magistrates would have no laws, etc. This gave occasion to the deputy governour to write that treatise about arbitrary government which he first tendered to the deputies in a model, and finding it approved by some, and silence in others, he drew it up more at large, and, having advised with most of the magistrates and elders about it, he intended to have presented it orderly to the court. But, to prevent that, the first day of the court the deputies had gotten a copy, which was presently read amongst them as a dangerous libel of some unknown author, and a committee was presently appointed to examine it, many false and dangerous things were collected out of it, all agreed and voted by them, and sent up to the magistrates for their assent, not seeming all this time to take any notice of the author, nor once moving to have his answer about it, for they feared that his place in the council would have excused him from censure, as well as the like had done Mr. Saltonstall for his book against the standing council not long before. But, if they could have prevailed to have had the book censured, this would have weakened his reputation with the people; and so, if one of their opposite had been removed, it would somewhat have facilitated their way to what they intended; but, this not succeeding as they expected, they kept it in deposito till some fitter season. In this time divers occasions falling out, wherein the magistrates had to do in the vacancy of the general court, as the French business, the seizure of the Bristol ship by Captain Stagg, and of the Dartmouth ship by ourselves, as is before related, and other affairs, they

would still declare their judgments contrary to the magistrates' practice ; and, if the event did not answer the counsel (though it had been interrupted by themselves or others), there needed no other ground to condemn the counsel ; all which tended still to weaken the authority of the magistrates, and their reputation with the people.

Then fell out the Hingham case, which they eagerly laid hold on, and pursued to the utmost, for they doubted not but they could now make it appear either that the magistrates had abused their authority or else that their authority was too great to consist with the people's liberty, and therefore ought to be reduced within narrower bounds. In pursuit whereof it may be observed,

1. That a cause, orderly referred to a trial, at a court of assistants, should be taken into the general court before it had received a due proceeding in the proper court ; the like having never been done before, nor any law or order directing thereto, but rather the contrary.

2. That a scandalous petition against some of the magistrates should be received by the deputies, and the magistrates often pressed to consent to a judicial hearing, and to give way that the deputy governour should be called to answer thereupon, as a delinquent, before any examination were first privately had about the justice of the cause.

3. That the testimony, in writing, of the three chiefest officers of the commonwealth (in a case properly committed to their trust) should be rejected, by a considerable part of the court, as a thing of no credit.

4. That the same part of the court should vote manifest contradictions, and require assent to both.

5. That being clearly convinced that the petition was false and scandalous, and so voted, they should yet professedly refuse to assent to any due censure.

6. That they should receive the testimony of two of those whom themselves judged delinquents and false accusers, and thereupon judge him, the deputy governour, an offender in words, against his own protestation, and other testimony concurring, and that in a matter of no moment, and against common reason, to be either spoken by him or believed by others, in such sense as they were charged upon him.

7. That a mutinous and seditious practice, carried on with an high hand, to the open contempt of authority, attempting to

make division in the town, and a dangerous rent in the highest court of the jurisdiction, should (by such a considerable part of the same court, looked at by others as the choice of the country for piety, prudence, and justice) be accounted as worthy of no censure, and in the conclusion not valued at so high a rate as some offences have been of private concernment arising of common infirmity.

8. That this practice should hold forth an apprehension that liberty and authority are incompatible in some degrees, so as no other way can be found to preserve the one but by abasing and abating the honor and power of the other.

9. That, being entrusted with the care and means of the country's prosperity, we should waste our time and their estates and our own (for the charges of this court came to 300 pounds) in such agitations as tend only to the discountenancing and interrupting the ordinary means of our welfare.

10. That while we sympathize with our native country in their calamities, and confess our own compliance with them in the provocations of God's wrath (as in many days of humiliation, and one even in the time of this court), we should be hastening by all our skill and power to bring the like miseries upon ourselves.

11. That Bozon Allen, one of the deputies of Hingham, and a delinquent in that common cause, should be publicly convict of divers false and reproachful speeches published by him concerning the deputy governour, and the book he wrote about arbitrary government, as that it was worse than Gorton's letters, that it should be burnt under the gallows, that, if some other of the magistrates had written it, it would have cost him his ears, if not his head, and other like speeches, and no censure set upon him for this, only he was fined 5 pounds among others, for their offences in general.

12. It is observable that the deputies, being so divided (for of thirty-three there was only the odd man who carried it in most of their votes), remembered at length a law they had agreed to in such cases; viz., that in causes of judicature they would not proceed without taking an oath, etc., whereupon the most of them took it among themselves, (*quaere, quo jure?*) but five of them came to the magistrates, who administered the oath to them.

What has generally been called the *impeachment* of Governor Winthrop was a memorable occasion in the history of the Colony and in Winthrop's personal career; and the speech which he made on his acquittal has obtained a world-wide celebrity. There is no narrative of the circumstances of the case, except that which he has left in his own history. But of this it has been well said by Mr. Savage that it is "as nearly impartial as can ever be expected from the most honest and enlightened contemporary, were he an observer only, instead of a mover of the occurrences." The whole account is in Winthrop's best style, and is replete with characteristic observations and incidents. The occurrence out of which the affair grew was, indeed, most trifling in its original aspect. The question, whether Anthony Eames or Bozoun Allen should be the captain of a militia company in the town of Hingham seems by no means important enough, certainly, to have set the Colony in a blaze, and to have occupied the whole of an unusually protracted session of the General Court. But, in the infancy of commonwealths, it often happens — and sometimes in their maturity also — that the greatest issues can be traced to the most seemingly insignificant sources. A stray sow in the streets of Boston, and the squabble of these militiamen at Hingham, may take their place on the historic page with the threepenny tea-tax of our Revolutionary period, as illustrations of the petty hinges on which the fortunes of a man, the constitution of a state, or even the fate of a nation, may turn. It is certain, at any rate, that some of the finest elements of Winthrop's character, and some of the noblest utterances of his opinions and principles, might have been lost to history but for the circumstances which his own pen here describes.

Winthrop styles this his "little speech"; but few speeches of that period or, indeed, of any other period, have obtained a wider celebrity in history. "The circumstances in which this address was delivered," says James Grahame, the excellent and lamented historian of the United States, "recall the most interesting scenes of Greek and Roman history; while, in the wisdom, piety, and dignity that it breathes, it resembles the magnanimous vindication of a judge of Israel. Winthrop was not only acquitted by the sentence of the court and the voice of the public, but recommended so prevailingly to the esteem of his fellow-citizens by this and all the other indications of his character that he was chosen Governor of Massachusetts every year after as long as he lived." In the "Modern Universal History" this speech, somewhat condensed and adorned, is pronounced "equal to anything of antiquity, whether we consider it as coming from a philosopher or a magistrate." De Tocqueville, too, quotes a passage from it, in his remarkable essay on Democracy in America, as "a fine definition of liberty."

American history furnishes many noble subjects for the skill of the

painter: but it may be doubted whether a nobler one could anywhere be found than the scene which is presented by the calm but careworn father of the Massachusetts Colony, pausing at the vacant chair which he was now called to resume, and pronouncing, before the little legislative assembly of the colony, that admirable definition of the true nature of civil liberty. The materials for such a picture are abundant. The portraits of Dudley and Endicott and Bradstreet and Cotton and Wilson, as well as of Winthrop himself, are all extant: and it may be that others of those present on the occasion, either as actors or as witnesses, might still be procured. The genius of some one of our native artists would worthily illustrate itself by perpetuating the memory of so impressive a passage in the early history of New England.—*From the Life and Letters of John Winthrop*, by Robert C. Winthrop, vol. ii., chapter xxii.

It is a curious good fortune by which we happen to have accounts of two of our earliest colonies, those of Plymouth and of Massachusetts Bay, written by the two men who had most to do with managing the affairs of each in the earliest period. . . .

Winthrop's "History of New England" has the form of annals, or even, at first, of a journal. Naturally, many matters of small moment are treated in it,—minor doings of the governing body and the churches, moving accidents, remarkable providences, and so forth. But the narrative is never undignified, and never gossiping. And when events of greater importance to the colony, or deliberations and discussions involving the essential principles of its policy, fall to be described, we could hardly desire a guide more impartial, more informing, or more thoughtful. Together with the actions of the rulers, their reasons are set before us, and set before us with a high-minded confidence and a philosophic breadth of view that leave nothing to be desired. Once in a while occur really admirable reasonings and statements in matters of political philosophy, while the absence of passion and intolerance and pettiness is very marked. The early years of the colony were a time of strong party feeling and of bitter dissensions; yet Winthrop never takes the opportunity of private writing and posthumous publication to set down aught in malice against any of his opponents. Of the chief among them, Sir Harry Vane, he says that at all times "he showed himself a true friend to New England, and a man of noble and generous mind." The severest thing that he says of any of them, so far as I know, is found in some words of grave and temperate disapprobation which he uses with regard to Governor Bellingham; and even here he does not fail to suggest what excuse he can for Bellingham's factious ill-temper.—*From Jameson's History of Historical Writing in America.*

Governor Winthrop's Journal or "History of New England" begins with the embarking for America in 1630, when on Easter Monday the author was "riding at the Cowes, near the Isle of Wight, in the Arbella," and is our principal authority for the history of the Massachusetts Colony down to 1648, a few months before the great governor's death. It is a most careful journal, and is invaluable as a record of the history of the colony by its founder and leading spirit, holding the same relation to the Massachusetts Bay history which Governor Bradford's Journal bears to Plymouth history. The two books make together our New England Old Testament. Winthrop desired and intended to revise his work, but the leisure for it never came. The first two volumes were published in 1790. In 1816 the third volume, long lost, was discovered in the tower of the Old South Meeting-house in Boston, from which place curiously the manuscript of Bradford's Journal was lost, and placed in the hands of James Savage, president of the Massachusetts Historical Society, who brought out a new edition of the whole work, with valuable notes.

"The Life and Letters of John Winthrop," by Robert C. Winthrop, is a thorough and admirable biography. There is a brief popular life, by Rev. Joseph H. Twichell: readers of the present leaflet will be interested especially in the first chapter of this volume, entitled "The Little Speech." There is an excellent account and critical estimate of Winthrop's "History of New England" in Jameson's "History of Historical Writing in America," from which a brief paragraph is quoted above. See the various volumes of Winthrop Letters published by the Massachusetts Historical Society. See also Old South Leaflets, Nos. 50 and 54, Winthrop's "Conclusions for the Plantation in New England" and Letters of Roger Williams to Winthrop.

PUBLISHED BY
THE DIRECTORS OF THE OLD SOUTH WORK,
Old South Meeting-house, Boston, Mass.



The Bostonian Ebenezer.

By COTTON MATHER.

SOME HISTORICAL REMARKS ON THE STATE OF BOSTON, THE CHIEF TOWN OF NEW ENGLAND, AND OF THE ENGLISH AMERICA. WITH SOME AGREEABLE METHODS FOR PRESERVING AND PROMOTING THE GOOD STATE OF THAT, AS WELL AS ANY OTHER TOWN in the LIKE CIRCUMSTANCES. HUMBL Y OFFERED BY A NATIVE OF BOSTON.

The name of the city from that day shall be, "The Lord is there." — EZEKIEL xlviii. 35.

Urbs Metropolis, ut sit maximæ Auctoritatis, constituatur præcipuum pietatis Exemplum et Sacrarium." * — APHOR. POLIT.

THE HISTORY OF BOSTON RELATED AND IMPROVED.

AT BOSTON LECTURE, 7 D. 2 M., 1698.

Remarkable and memorable was the time, when an army of terrible destroyers was coming against one of the chief towns in the land of Israel. God rescued the town from the irresistible fury and approach of those destroyers, by an immediate hand of heaven upon them. Upon that miraculous rescue of the town, and of the whole country, whose fate was much enwrapped in it, there followed that action of the Prophet SAMUEL which is this day to be, with some imitation, repeated in the midst of thee, O BOSTON, *thou helped of the Lord*.

Then Samuel took a stone, and set it up, and called the name of it EBEN-EZER, saying, Hitherto the Lord hath helped us. — 1. SAM. vii. 12.

The thankful servants of God have used sometimes to erect monuments of stone, as durable tokens of their thankfulness to God for mercies received in the places thus distinguished.

* A metropolitan city, in order to command the widest influence, should become a special exemplar and depository of piety.

Jacob did so ; Joshua did so ; and Samuel did so ; but they so did it, as to keep clear of the transgression forbidden in Lev. xxvi. 1 : “ Ye shall not set up an image of stone in your land, for to bow down unto it.”

The Stone erected by Samuel, with the name of Ebenezer, which is as much as to say, *a stone of help* ; I know not whether any thing might be *writ* upon it, but I am sure there is one thing to be now *read* upon it, by our selves, in the text where we find it : namely, thus much, “ That a people whom the God of Heaven hath remarkably helped in their distresses, ought greatly and gratefully to acknowledge what help of heaven they have received.”

Now 'tis not my design to lay the scene of my discourse as far off as Bethcar, the place where Samuel set up his Ebenezer. I am immediately to transfer it into the heart of Boston, a place where the remarkable help received from Heaven by the people, does loudly call for an Ebenezer. And I do not ask you to change the name of the town into that of *Help-stone*, as there is a town in England of that name, which may seem the English of Ebenezer ; but my Sermon shall be this day, your Ebenezer, if you will with a favourable and a profitable attention entertain it. May the Lord Jesus Christ accept me, and assist me now to glorifie him in the town where I drew my first sinful breath ; a town whereto I am under great obligations for the precious opportunities to glorifie him, which I have quietly and publickly enjoyed therein for near eighteen years together. “ O, my Lord God, remember me, I pray thee, and strengthen me this once, to speak from thee unto thy people ! ”

And now, sirs, that I may set up an EBENEZER among you, there are these things to be inculcated.

I. Let us *thankfully*, and *agreeably*, and *particularly* acknowledge *what* HELP we have received from the God of Heaven, in the years that have rouled over us. While the blessed Apostle Paul was, as it should seem, yet short of being threescore years old, how affectionately did he set up an Ebenezer, with an acknowledgment in Acts xxvi. 22 : “ Having obtained help of God, I continue to this day ! ” Our town is now threescore and eight years old ; and certainly 'tis time for us, with all possible affection, to set up our Ebenezer, saying, “ Having obtained help from God, the town is continued until almost the age of man is passed over it ! ” The town hath indeed three

elder sisters in this colony, but it hath wonderfully outgrown them all; and her mother, Old Boston, in England also; yea, within a few years after the first settlement, it *grew* to be THE METROPOLIS OF THE WHOLE ENGLISH AMERICA. Little was *this* expected by them that first settled the town, when for a while Boston was proverbially called *Lost-town*, for the mean and sad circumstances of it. But, O Boston! it is because thou hast obtained help from God, even from the Lord Jesus Christ, who for the sake of his gospel, preached and once prized here, undertook thy patronage. When the world and the church of God had seen twenty-six generations, a psalm was composed, wherein that note occurs with twenty-six repetitions: "His mercy endureth for ever." Truly there has not one year passed over this town, *Ab Urbe Condita*,* upon the story whereof we might not make that note our Ebenezer: "His mercy endureth for ever." It has been a town of great experiences. There have been several years wherein the terrible famine hath terribly stared the town in the face; we have been brought sometimes unto the *last meal* in the barrel; we have cried out with the disciples, "We have not loaves enough to feed a tenth part of us!" but the feared *famine* has always been kept off; always we have had seasonable and sufficient supplies after a surprising manner sent in unto us: let the three last years in this thing most eminently proclaim the goodness of our heavenly Shepherd and Feeder. This has been the *help* of our God; because "his mercy endureth for ever!" The angels of death have often shot the arrows of death into the midst of the town; the small-pox has especially four times been a great plague upon us: how often have there been bills desiring prayers for more than an hundred sick on one day in one of our assemblies? in one twelve-month, about one thousand of our neighbours have one way or other been carried unto their long home: and yet we are, after all, many more than seven thousand souls of us at this hour living on the spot. Why is not a "Lord, have mercy upon us," written on the doors of our abandoned habitations? This hath been the *help* of our God, because "his mercy endureth for ever." Never was any town under the cope of heaven more liable to be laid in ASHES, either through the carelessness or through the wickedness of them that sleep in it. That such a combustible heap of contiguous houses yet stands, it may be called a

* Since the city was founded.

standing miracle; it is not because "the watchman keeps the city"; perhaps there may be too much cause of reflection in that thing, and of inspection too; no, "it is from thy watchful protection, O thou keeper of *Boston*, who neither slumbers nor sleeps." TEN TIMES has the *fire* made notable ruins among us, and our *good servant* been almost our *master*; but the ruins have mostly and quickly been rebuilt. I suppose that many more than a thousand houses are to be seen on this little piece of ground, all filled with the undeserved favours of God. Whence this preservation? This hath been the *help* of our God; because "his mercy endureth for ever!" But if ever this town saw a year of salvations, transcendently such was the last year unto us. A formidable French squadron hath not shot one bomb into the midst of thee; O thou *munition of rocks*! our streets have not run with blood and gore, and horrible devouring flames have not raged upon our substance: those are *ignorant*, and *unthinking*, and *unthankful* men, who do not own that we have narrowly escaped as dreadful things as Carthage, or Newfoundland, have suffered. I am sure our more considerate friends beyond-sea were very suspicious, and well nigh despairing, that victorious enemies had swallowed up the town. But "thy soul is escaped, O *Boston*, as a bird out of the snare of the fowlers." Or, if you will be insensible of *this*, ye vain men, yet be sensible that an English squadron hath not brought among us the tremendous pestilence, under which a neighbouring plantation hath undergone prodigious desolations. Boston, 'tis a marvellous thing a plague has not laid thee desolate! Our deliverance from our *friends* has been as full of astonishing mercy, as our deliverance from our *foes*. We read of a certain city in Isa. xix. 18, called, "The city of Destruction." Why so? some say, because delivered from destruction. If that be so, then hast thou been a city of destruction: or I will rather say, a city of salvation: and this by the *help* of God; because "his mercy endureth for ever." Shall I go on? I will. We have not had the *bread of adversity* and the *water of affliction*, like many other places. But yet all this while "our eyes have seen our teachers." Here are several "golden candlesticks" in the town. "Shining and burning lights" have illuminated them. There are gone to shine in an higher *orb* seven divines that were once the *stars* of this town, in the pastoral charge of it; besides many others, that for some years gave us transient in-

fluences. Churches flourishing with much love, and peace, and many "comforts of the Holy Spirit," have hitherto been our greatest glory. I wish that some sad *eclipse* do not come ere long upon this *glory*! The dispensations of the gospel were never enjoyed by any town with more liberty and purity for so long a while together. Our opportunities to draw near unto the Lord Jesus Christ in his ordinances, cannot be paralleled. Boston, thou hast been lifted up to heaven; there is not a town upon earth which, on some accounts, has more to answer for. Such, O such has been our *help* from our God, because "his mercy endureth for ever."

II. Let us acknowledge *WHOSE help* it is that we have received, and not "give the glory of our God unto another." Poorly helped had we been, I may tell you, if we had none but humane help all this while to depend upon. The favours of our superiors we deny not; we forget not the instruments of our help. Nevertheless, this little *outcast Zion* shall, with my consent, engrave the name of no MAN upon her Ebenezer! It was well confessed in Psal. cviii. 12, "Vain is the help of man!" It was well counselled in Psal. cxlvi. 3, "Put not your trust in princes, nor in the son of man, in whom there is no help."

Wherefore, first, let God in our Lord JESUS CHRIST have the glory of bestowing on us all the help that we have had. When the Spirit of God came upon a servant of his, he cried out unto David, in 1 Chron. xii. 18, "'Thy God helpeth thee.'" This is the voice of God from heaven to Boston this day, "Thy God hath helped thee: thou hast by thy sin destroyed thy self, but in thy God hath been thy help." A great man once building an edifice, caused an inscription of this importance to be written on the gates of it: "Such a place planted me, such a place watered me, and Cæsar gave the increase." One that passed by, with a witty sarcasm, wrote under it, *Hic Deus nihil fecit*: i. e. "God, it seems, did nothing for this man." But the inscription upon our Ebenezer, owning what *help* this town hath had, shall say, "Our God hath done all that is done!" Say then, O helped BOSTON, say as in Psal. cxxi. 2, "My help is from the Lord which made heaven and earth." Say as in Psal. xciv. 17, "Unless the Lord had been my help, my soul had quickly dwelt in silence." And boldly say, "'Tis only because the Lord has been my helper, that earth and hell have never done all that they would unto me."

Let our Lord JESUS CHRIST be praised as our blessed helper! that *stone* which the *foolish builders* have refused, Oh! set up that stone; even that high rock: set him on high in our praises, and say, that “*that* is our Ebenezer.” ’Tis our Lord JESUS CHRIST, who in his infinite compassions for the town hath said, as in Isa. lxiii. 5, “I looked, and there was none to help; therefore my own arm hath brought salvation unto it.” It is foretold concerning the idolatrous Roman Catholicks, that together with the Lord Jesus Christ, they shall worship other *Mauzzim*; that is to say, other *protectors*. Accordingly, all their towns ordinarily have singled out their protectors among the saints of heaven; such a saint is entitled unto the *patronage* of such a town among them, and such a saint for another: old BOSTON, by name, was but St. Botolph’s town. Whereas thou, O Boston, shalt have but one *protector* in heaven, and that is our Lord JESUS CHRIST. Oh! rejoice in him alone, and say, “The Lord is my fortress and my deliverer!” There was a song once made for a town, which in its distresses had been helped wondrously; and the first clause in that song, (you have it in Isa. xxvi. 1) may be so rendered: “We have a strong town; salvation [or JESUS the Lord, whose name hath salvation in it] will appoint walls and bulwarks.” Truly what help we have had we will sing, “’Tis our JESUS that hath appointed them.” The old pagan towns were sometimes mighty solicitous to conceal the name of the particular god that they counted their protector, *Ne ab hostibus Evocatus, aliò commigraret*.* But I shall be far from doing my town any damage by publishing the name of its protector; no, let all mankind know, that the name of our protector is JESUS CHRIST: for “among the gods there is none like unto thee, O LORD: nor is any help like unto thine: and there is no rock like to our God.”

Yea, when we ascribe the name of *helper* unto our Lord JESUS CHRIST, let us also acknowledge that the name is not sufficiently expressive, emphatical and significant. Lactantius of old blamed the heathen for giving the highest of their gods no higher a title than that of Jupiter, or Juvans pater, i. e. an *helping father*; and he says, *Non intelligit Divina Beneficia, qui se a Deo tantummodo Juvare putat*: (the kindnesses of God are not understood by that man who makes no more than an helper

* Lest, beguiled by the prayers and offerings of the enemy, he should take up a residence elsewhere.

of him.) Such indeed is the penury of our language, that we cannot coin a more *expressive name*. Nevertheless, when we say, the Lord JESUS CHRIST hath been our helper, let us intend more than we express; "Lord, thou hast been *all* unto us."

Secondly, Let the sacrifice of our Lord Jesus Christ most explicitly have the glory of purchasing for us all our help. What was it that procured an Ebenezer for the people of God? We read in 2 Sam. vii. 9, "Samuel took a sucking lamb, and offered it a burnt-offering wholly unto the Lord; and Samuel cried unto the Lord for Israel, and the Lord heard him." Shall I tell you? Our Lord Jesus Christ is that lamb of God; and he has been a lamb slain as a sacrifice; and he is a sacrifice pleadable not only for *persons*, but also for *peoples* that belong unto him. To teach us this evangelical and comfortable *mystery*, there was a sacrifice for the whole congregation prescribed in the Mosaic Pædagogy. 'Tis notorious that the sins of this town have been many sins, and mighty sins; the "cry thereof hath gone up to heaven." If the Almighty God should from heaven rain down upon the town an horrible tempest of thunderbolts, as he did upon the cities "which he overthrew in his anger, and repented not," it would be no more than our unrepented sins deserve. How comes it then to pass that we have had so much help from Heaven after all? Truly the sacrifice of our Lord Jesus Christ has been pleaded for Boston, and *therefore* say, *therefore* it is that the town is not made a sacrifice to the vengeance of God. God sent *help* to the town that was the very *heart* and *life* of the land that he had a pity for: but why so? He said in Isa. xxxvii. 35, "I will defend this town, to save it for my servant David's sake." Has this town been defended? It has been for the sake of the beloved JESUS: therefore has the daughter of Boston shaken her head at you, O ye calamities that have been impending over her head. O helped and happy town! thou hast had those believers in the midst of thee, that have pleaded this with the great God: "Ah! Lord, thou hast been more honoured by the sufferings of our Lord Jesus Christ, than thou couldst be honoured by overwhelming this town with all the plagues of thy just indignation. If thou wilt spare, and feed, and keep, and help this poor town, the sufferings of our Lord Jesus Christ shall be owned as the prize of all our help." 'Tis *this* that hath procured us all our help: 'tis *this* that must have all our praise.

Thirdly, Let the Lord be in a special manner glorified for the ministry of his good angels, in that help that has been ministered unto us. A Jacob, lying on a *stone*, saw the angels of God helping him. We are setting up an Ebenezer; but when we lay our heads and our thoughts upon the stone, let us then see, the angels of God have helped us. When Macedonia was to have some help from God, an angel, whom the apostle in Acts xvi. 9, saw habited like a *man of Macedonia*, was a mean of its being brought unto them. There is abundant cause to think that every town in which the Lord Jesus Christ is worshipped, hath an angel to watch over it. The primitive Christians were perswaded from the scriptures of truth to make no doubt of this, *Quòd per Civitates distributæ sunt Angelorum præfecturæ*.^{*} When the capital town of Judea was rescued from an invasion, we read in 2 Kings xix. 35, "The angel of the Lord WENT OUT, and smote the camp of the Assyrians." It should seem there was an angel which did reside in, and preside over the town, who *went out* for that amazing exploit. And is it not likely, that the angel of the Lord WENT OUT for to smite the fleet of the Assyrians with a sickness, which the last summer hindered their invading of this town? The angel of BOSTON was concerned for it! Why have not the destroyers broke in upon us, to prey upon us with sore destruction? 'Tis because we have had a wall of fire about us; that is to say, a guard of angels; those flames of fire have been as a wall unto us. It was an angel that helped a Daniel when the lions would else have swallowed him up. It was an angel that helped a Lot out of the fires that were coming to consume his habitation. It was an angel that helped an Elias to meat when he wanted it. They were angels that helped the whole people of God in the wilderness to their daily bread; their manna was angel's food: and is it nothing that such angels have done for this town, think you? Oh! think not so. Indeed, if we should go to thank the angels for doing these things, they would zealously say, "See thou do it not!" But if we thank their Lord and ours for his employing them to do these things, it will exceedingly gratifie them. Wherefore, "Bless ye the Lord, ye his angels; and bless the Lord, O my town, for those his *angels*."

III. Let the *help* which we have *hitherto* had from our God, encourage us to hope in him for MORE HELP hereafter as the

* That angel-guards were stationed along the various cities where they dwelt.

matter may require. The help that God had given to his people of old was commemorated, as with monumental pillars, conveying down the remembrance of it unto their children. And what for? We are told in Psal. lxxviii. 7, "That they might set their hope in God, and not forget the works of God." I am not willing to say how much this town may be threatned, even with an *utter extirpation*. But this I will say, the motto upon all our Ebenezers is, HOPE IN GOD! HOPE IN GOD! The use of the former help that we have had from God, should be an hope for future help from him, that is "a present help in the time of trouble." As in the three first verses of the eighty-fifth Psalm, six times over there occurs, "Thou hast," "Thou hast," all to usher in this, "Therefore thou WILT still do so," O let our faith proceed in that way of arguing in 2 Cor. i. 10, "The Lord hath delivered, and he doth deliver, and in him we trust that he will still deliver." We are to-day writing, "Hitherto the Lord hath helped us;" let us write under it, "And we hope the Lord has more help for us in the time of need!" It may be some are purposing suddenly and hastily to leave the town through their fears of the straits that may come upon it. But I would not have you be too sudden and hasty in your purposes, as too many have been unto their *after-sorrow*. There was a time when people were so discouraged about a *subsistence* in the principal town of the Jews, that they talked of plucking up stakes, and flying away; but the minister of God came to them, (and so do I to you this day!) saying, in Isa. xxx. 7, "I cried concerning this, their strength is to sit still!" Boston was no sooner come to some *consistence* threescore years ago, but the people found themselves plunged into a sad *non-plus* what way to take for a *subsistence*. God then immediately put them into a way, and "hitherto the Lord has helped us!" The town is at this day full of widows and orphans, and a multitude of them are very helpless creatures. I am astonished how they live! In that church whereof I am the servant, I have counted the widows make about a sixth part of our communicants, and no doubt in the whole town the proportion differs not very much. Now stand still, my friends, and behold the help of God! Were any of these ever starved yet? No: these widows are every one in some sort provided for. And let me tell you, ye handmaids of the Lord, you shall be still provided for! The Lord, whose *family* you belong unto, will conveniently and wonderfully provide for you; if you

say, and Oh! say of him, "The Lord is my helper; I will not fear!"

What shall I say? When Moses was ready to faint in his *prayers* for his people, we read in Exod. xvii. 12, "They took a stone, and put it under him." Christians, there are some of you who abound in *prayers*, that the *help* of God may be granted unto the town; the town is much upheld by those prayers of yours. Now, that you may not faint in your prayers, I bring you a *stone*: the stone, 'tis our Ebenezer; or, the relation of the *help* that *hitherto* the Lord hath given us.

IV. Let all that bear PUBLIC OFFICE in the town contribute all the help they can, that may continue the help of God unto us. Austin, in his *Confessions*, gives thanks to God, that when he was a helpless infant, he had a nurse to help him, and one that was both able and willing to help him. Infant-Boston, thou hast those whom the Bible calls *nursing-fathers*. Oh, be not froward, as thou art in thy treating of thy nurses; but give thanks to God for them. I forget my self; 'tis with the fathers themselves that I am concerned.

When it was demanded of Demosthenes, what it was that so long preserved Athens in a flourishing state, he made this answer: "The orators are men of learning and wisdom, the magistrates do justice, the citizens love quiet, and the laws are kept among them all." May Boston flourish in such happy order!

And first, you may assure yourselves that the MINISTERS of the Lord Jesus Christ among you will be joyful to approve themselves, as the Book of God has called them, "The helpers of your joy." O our dear flocks, we owe you our all; all our love, all our strength, all our time; we watch for you as those that must give an account; and I am very much mistaken if we are not willing to *die* for you, too, if called unto it. If our Lord Jesus Christ should say to us, "My servant, if you'll die to-night, you shall have this reward: the people that you preach to shall be all converted unto me!" I think we should with triumphing souls reply, "Ah! Lord, then I'll die with all my heart." Sirs, we should go away "rejoycing with joy unspeakable and full of glory." I am satisfied that the most furious and foul-mouthed reviler that God may give any of us to be buffeted withal, if he will but come to sober thoughts, he will say, That there is not any one man in the town, but the ministers wish that man as well as they do their own souls,

and would gladly serve that man by day or by night, in any thing that it were possible to do for him. Wherefore, O our beloved people, I beseech you leave off, leave off to throw stones at your Ebenezers. Instead of that, *pray for us*, and “strive together with us in your prayers to God for us.” Then with the help of Christ we’ll promise you we will set our selves to observe what special *truths* may be most needful to be inculcated upon you, and we will inculcate them. We will set our selves to observe the *temptations* that beset you, the *afflictions* that assault you, and the *duties* that are incumbent on you; and we will accommodate our selves unto them. We will set our selves to observe what souls among you do call for our more particular addresses, and we will address them faithfully, and even *travel in birth* for them. Nor will we give over praying, and fasting, and crying to our great LORD for you until you die. Whatever other helpers the town enjoys, they shall have that convenience in Ezra v. 2, “With them were the prophets of God, helping them.” Well, then, let the rest of our worthy helpers lend an helping hand for the promoting of those things wherein the weal of the town is wrapped up! When the Jews thought that a defiling thing was breaking in among them, in Acts xxi. 28, “They cried out, “Men of Israel, help!” Truly there is cause to make that cry, “Men of *Boston*, help!” for ignorance, and prophaneness, and bad living, and the worst things in the world, are breaking in upon us.

And now will the JUSTICES of the town set themselves to consider, How they may help to suppress all growing vices among us?

Will the CONSTABLES of the town set themselves to consider, How they may help to prevent all evil orders among us?

There are some who have the eye of the town so much upon them, that the very name of TOWNS-MEN is that by which they are distinguished. Sirs, will you also consider how to help the affairs of the town, so as that all things may go well among us?

Moreover, may not SCHOOL-MASTERS do much to instil principles of religion and civility, as well as other points of good education, into the children of the town? Only let the town well encourage its well-deserving school-masters.

There are some officers; but concerning *all*, there are these two things to be desired: First, it is to be desired that such

officers as are chosen among us, may be chosen in the fear of God. May none but pious and prudent men, and such as *love* the town, be chosen to serve it. And, secondly, it is to be desired that officers of several sorts would often come together for consultation. Each of the sorts by themselves, may they often come together to consult, "What shall we do to serve the town in those interests which are committed unto our charge?" Oh! what a deplorable thing will it be for persons to be entrusted with talents, (your opportunities to serve the town are so many talents!) and they never seriously consider, "What good shall I do with my talents in the place where God hath stationed me?"

And will the REPRESENTATIVES of the town be considered among the rest, as entrusted with some singular advantages for our help? The Lord give you understanding in all things!

V. God help the town to manifest all that PIETY, which a town so helped of him is obliged unto! When the people of God had been carried by his help through their difficulties, they set up *stones* to keep in mind how he had helped them; and something was written on the stones: but what was written? see Josh. viii. 32, "Joshua wrote upon the stones a copy of the law." Truly upon those Ebenezers which we set up, we should write the law of our God, and recognize the obligations which the help of our God has laid upon us to keep it.

We are a very unpardonable town, if, after all the help which our God has given us, we do not ingenuously enquire, "What shall we render to the Lord for all his benefits?" Render! Oh! let us our selves thus answer the enquiry: "Lord, we will render all possible and filial obedience unto thee, because hitherto thou hast helped us: only do thou also help us to render that obedience!" Mark what I say: if there be so much as one *prayerless house* in such a town as this, 'tis inexcusable! How inexcusable then will be all flagitious outrages? There was a town, ('twas the town of Sodom!) that had been wonderfully saved out of the hands of their enemies. But after the help that God sent unto them, the town went on to sin against God in very prodigious instances. At last a provoked God sent a fire upon the town that made it an eternal desolation. Ah, Boston, beware, beware, lest the sins of Sodom get footing in thee! And what were the sins of Sodom? We find in Ezek. xvi. 49, "Behold,

this was the iniquity of Sodom ; pride, fulness of bread, and abundance of idleness was in her ; neither did she strengthen the hand of the poor and the needy ; ” there was much oppression there. If you know of any scandalous disorders in the town, do all you can to suppress them, and redress them ; and let not those that send their sons hither from other parts of the world, for to be improved in virtue, have cause to complain, “ That after they came to Boston, they lost what little virtue was before budding in them ; that in Boston they grew more debauched and more malignant than ever they were before ! ” It was noted concerning the famous town of Port-Royal in Jamaica, which you know was the other day swallowed up in a stupendous earthquake, that just before the earthquake the people were violently and scandalously set upon going to *Fortune-tellers* upon all occasions : much notice was taken of this *impiety* generally prevailing among the people : but none of those wretched Fortune-tellers could foresee or forestal the direful catastrophe. I have heard that there are Fortune-tellers in this town sometimes consulted by some of the sinful inhabitants. I wish the town could be made too hot for these *dangerous transgressors*. I am sure the preservation of the town from horrendous earthquakes, is one thing that bespeaks our Ebenezers ; ’tis from the merciful *help* of our God unto us. But beware, I beseech you, of those provoking evils that may expose us to a plague, exceeding all that are in the catalogue of the twenty-eighth of Deuteronomy. Let me go on to say, What ! shall there be any bawdy-houses in such a town as this ! It may be the neighbours, that could smoke them, and rout them, if they would, are loth to stir, for fear of being reputed ill neighbours. But I say unto you, that you are ill neighbours because you do it not. All the neighbours are like to have their children and servants poisoned, and their dwellings laid in ashes, because you do it not. And, Oh ! that the drinking-houses in the town might once come under a laudable *regulation*. The town has an *enormous number* of them ; will the *haunters* of those houses hear the counsels of Heaven ? For you that are the town-dwellers, to be oft or long in your visits of the *ordinary*, ’twill certainly expose you to mischiefs more than ordinary. I have seen certain taverns, where the pictures of horrible devourers were hanged out for the signs ; and, thought I, ’twere well if such signs were not sometimes too *significant* : alas, men have their estates *devoured*, their

names *devoured*, their hours *devoured*, and their very souls *devoured*, when they are so besotted that they are not in their element, except they be tipling at such houses. When once a man is bewitched with the ordinary, what usually becomes of him? He is a gone man; and when he comes to die, he will cry out, as many have done, "Ale-houses are hell-houses! ale-houses are hell-houses!" But let the owners of those houses also now hear our counsels. "Oh! hearken to me, that God may hearken to you another day!" It is an *honest*, and a *lawful*, though it may not be a very *desirable* employment, that you have undertaken: you may glorify the Lord Jesus Christ in your employment if you will, and benefit the town considerably. There was a very godly man that was an innkeeper, and a great minister of God could say to that man, in 3 John 2, "Thy soul prospereth." O let it not be said of you, since you are fallen into this employment, "Thy soul withereth!" It is thus with too many: especially, when they that get a license perhaps to sell drink out of doors, do stretch their license to sell within doors. Those private houses, when once a professor of the gospel comes to *steal* a living out of them, it commonly precipitates them into an abundance of wretchedness and confusion. But I pray God assist you that keep ordinaries, to keep the commandments of God in them. There was an Inn at Bethlehem where the Lord JESUS CHRIST was to be met withal. Can Boston boast of many such? Alas, too ordinarily it may be said, "there is no room for him in the Inn!" My friends, let me beg it of you, banish the unfruitful works of darkness from your houses, and then the sun of righteousness will shine upon them. Don't countenance drunkenness, reveling, and mis-spending of precious time in your houses; let none have the snares of death laid for them in your houses. You'll say, "I shall starve then!" I say, "Better starve than sin:" but you shall not. It is the word of the Most High, "Trust in the Lord, and do good, and verily thou shalt be fed." And is not *peace of conscience*, with a *little*, better than those riches that will shortly melt away, and then run like scalding metal down the very bowels of thy soul?

What shall I say more? There is one article of *piety* more to be recommended unto us all; and it is an article which all piety does exceedingly turn upon, that is, THE SANCTIFICATION OF THE LORD'S DAY. Some very judicious persons have observed, that as "they sanctify the Lord's day, remissly or care-

fully, just so their affairs usually prospered all the ensuing week." Sirs, you cannot more consult the prosperity of the town, in all its affairs, than by endeavouring that the Lord's day may be exemplarily sanctified. When people about Jerusalem took too much liberty on the Sabbath, the ruler of the town contended with them, and said, "Ye bring wrath upon Israel, by prophaning the Sabbath." I fear — I fear there are many among us, to whom it may be said, "Ye bring wrath upon Boston, by prophaning the Sabbath." And what wrath? Ah, Lord, prevent it! But there is an awful sentence in Jer. xvii. 27, "If ye will not hearken unto me, to sanctifie the Sabbath day, then will I kindle a fire *on the town*, and it shall devour, and shall not be quenched."

Finally, Let the piety of the town manifest it self in a due regard unto the INSTITUTIONS of Him whose *help* has *hitherto* been a shield unto us. Let the *ark* be in the town, and God will bless the town! I believe it may be found, that in the mortal scourges of heaven, which this town has felt, there has been a *discernable* distinction of those that have come up to attend all the ordinances of the Lord Jesus Christ, in the communion of his churches. Though these have had, as 'tis fit they should, a share in the common deaths, yet the destroying angel has not had so great a proportion of these in his commission, as he has had of others. Whether *this* be so, or no, to uphold, and support, and attend the ordinances of the Lord Jesus Christ in reforming churches, this will entitle the town to the *help* of heaven; for, "Upon the glory there shall be a defence!" There were the victorious forces of Alexander, that in going backward and forward, passed by Jerusalem without hurting it. Why so? Said the Lord in Zech. ix. 8, "I will encamp about my house, because of the army." If our God have an *house* here, he'll encamp about it. Nazianzen, a famous minister of the gospel, taking his farewel of Constantinople, an old man that had sat under his ministry, cried out, "Oh! my father, don't you dare to go away: you'll carry the whole Trinity with you!" How much more may it be cried out, "If we lose or slight the ordinances of the Lord Jesus Christ, we forego the help of all the Trinity with them!"

VI. Extraordinary EQUITY and CHARITY, as well as *piety*, well becomes a town that hath been by the *help* of God so extraordinarily signalized. A town marvellously helped by God, has this foretold concerning it, in Isa. i. 26, "Afterward thou

shalt be called, the city of righteousness, the faithful city." May the Ebenzers of this town render it a town of equity, and a town of charity! Oh! there should be none but fair dealings in a town wherewith Heaven has dealt so favourably. Let us deal fairly in bargains; deal fairly in taxes; deal fairly in paying respects to such as have been benefactors unto the town. 'Tis but equity, that they who have been *old standers* in the town, and both with person and estate served the town unto the utmost for many years together, should on all proper occasions be considered. For *charity* — I may indeed speak it without flattery — this town has not many equals on the face of the earth. Our Lord Jesus Christ from heaven wrote unto the good people of a town in the lesser Asia, [Rev. ii. 19,] "I know thy works and charity." From that blessed Lord I may venture to bring that message unto the good people of this town; "the glorious Lord of heaven knows thy works, O Boston, and all thy charity." This is a poor town, and yet it may be said of the Bostonians, as it was of the Macedonians, "their deep poverty hath abounded unto the riches of their liberality." O ye bountiful people of God, all your daily bounties to the needy, all your subscriptions to send the bread of life abroad unto places that are perishing in wickedness, all your collections in your assemblies as often as they are called for; "all these alms are come up for a memorial before God!" The Lord Jesus Christ in heaven hath beheld your helpfulness, and readiness to every good work; and he hath requited it with his helpful Ebenzers. It was said in Isa. xxxii. 8, "The liberal deviseth liberal things, and by liberal things he shall stand." There are some in this town that are always devising liberal things, and our Lord Jesus Christ lets the town stand for the sake of those! Instead of exhorting you to augment your charity, I will rather utter an exhortation, or at least a supplication, that you may not *abuse* your charity by misapplying of it. I remember I have read, that an inhabitant of the city Pisa being asked why their town so went, as it then did, unto decay? — he fetched a deep sigh, and said, "Our young men are too prodigal, our old men are too affectionate, and we have no punishment for those that spend their years in idleness." Ah! the last stroak of that complaint I must here sigh it over again. *Idleness*, alas! *idleness* increases in the town exceedingly; idleness, of which there never came any goodness! idleness, which is a "reproach to any people." *We*

work hard all summer, and the *drones* count themselves wronged if they have it not in the winter divided among them. The *poor* that *can't* work, are objects for your liberality. But the poor that *can* work and *won't*, the best liberality to them is to *make* them. I beseech you, sirs, to find out a method quickly, that the idle persons in the town may earn their bread; it were the best piece of charity that could be shown unto them, and equity unto us all. Our beggars do shamefully grow upon us, and such beggars, too, as our Lord Jesus Christ himself hath expressly forbidden us to countenance. I have read a printed sermon which was preached before "both Houses of Parliament, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, and the Assembly of Divines;" the greatest audience then in the world: and in that sermon the preacher had this passage: "I have lived in a country where in seven years I never saw a beggar, nor heard an oath, nor looked upon a drunkard." Shall I tell you where that Utopia was? 'Twas NEW ENGLAND! But they that go from hence must now tell another story.

VII. May the *changes*, and especially the *judgments* that have come upon the town, direct us what *help* to petition from the "God of our salvations." The Israelites had formerly seen dismal things, where they now set up their Ebenezer: the Philistines had no less than twice beaten them there, and there taken from them the Ark of God. Now we are setting up our Ebenezer, let us a little call to mind some dismal things that we have seen; the Ebenezer will go up the better for it.

We read in 1 Sam. vi. 18, concerning "the great stone of Abel." Some say, that Adam erected that stone, as a grave-stone for his Abel, and wrote that epitaph upon it, "Here was poured out the blood of the righteous ABEL." I know nothing of *this*; the names, I know, differ in the original; but as we may erect many a stone for an Ebenezer, so we may erect many a *great stone* of ABEL, that is to say, we may write MOURNING and SORROW upon the condition of the town in various examples. Now from the stones of Abel, we will a little gather what we should wish to write upon the stones of our Ebenezer.

What *changes* have we seen in point of religion! It was noted by Luther, he "could never see good order in the church last more than fifteen years together in the purity of it." Blessed be God, religion hath here flourished in the *purity* of it for more than *fifteen years together*. But certainly the *power*

of Godliness is now grievously decayed among us. As the prophet of old exclaimed, in Joel i. 2, "Hear this, ye old men, and give ear, ye inhabitants! has this been in your days?" Thus may I say, "Hear this, ye old men, that are the inhabitants of the town: can't you remember that *in your days*, a prayerful, a watchful, a fruitful Christian, and a well-governed family, was a more common sight, than it is now in *our days*? Can't you remember that *in your days* those abominable things did not *show their heads*, that are now *bare faced* among us? Here then is a petition to be made unto our God: "Lord, help us to remember whence we are fallen, and to repent, and to do the first works!"

Again, What *changes* have we seen in point of *mortality*? By mortality almost all the old race of our first planters here are carried off; the old stock is in a manner expired. We see the fulfilment of that word in Eccl. i. 4, "One generation passeth away, and another generation cometh." It would be no unprofitable thing for you to pass over the several streets, and call to mind, *who lived here so many years ago?* Why? In *that place* lived such an one. But, *where are they now?* Oh! they are gone; they are gone into that eternal world, whither *we* must quickly follow them. Here is another petition to be made unto God: "Lord, help us to number our days, and apply our hearts unto wisdom, that when the places that now know us, do know us no more, we may begone into the city of God!"

Furthermore, What *changes* have we seen in point of possessions? If some that are now *rich* were once *low* in the world, 'tis possible, more that were once *rich* are now brought very *low*. Ah! Boston, thou hast seen the vanity of all worldly possessions. One fatal morning, which laid fourscore of thy dwelling-houses, and seventy of thy ware-houses, in a ruinous heap, not nineteen years ago, gave thee to read it in fiery characters. And an huge *fleet* of thy vessels, which they would make if they were all together, that have miscarried in the late war, has given thee to read more of it. Here is one petition more to be made unto our God: "Lord, help us to ensure a better and a lasting substance in heaven, and the good part that cannot be taken away."

In fine, how dreadfully have the *young people* of Boston perished under the *judgments* of God! A renowned writer among the Pagans could make this remark: there was a town

so irreligious and atheistical, that they did not pay their first-fruits unto God; (which the *light of nature* taught the Pagans to do!) and, says he, they were by a sudden desolation so strangely destroyed, that there were no remainders either of the persons, or of the houses, to be seen any more. Ah, my young folks, there are few first-fruits paid unto the Lord Jesus Christ among you. From hence it comes to pass, that the consuming wrath of God is every day upon you. New-England has been like a *tottering house*, the very *foundations* of it have been shaking; but the house thus oversetting by the whirlwinds of the wrath of God, hath been like Job's house: "It falls upon the young men, and they are dead!" The disasters on our young folks have been so multiplied, that there are few parents among us but what will go with wounded hearts down unto their graves: their daily moans are, "Ah, my son, cut off in his youth! My son, my son!" Behold then the *help* that we are to ask of our God; and why do we, with no more days of prayer with fasting, ask it? "Lord, help the young people of Boston to remember thee in the days of their youth, and satisfie unto the survivors the terrible things that have come upon so many of that generation."

And now as Joshua, having reasoned with his people a little before he died, in Josh. xxiv. 26, 27, "took a great *stone*, and set it up, and said unto all the people, Behold, this stone shall be a witness unto you, lest ye deny your God;" thus we have been this day setting up a *STONE*, even an Ebenezer, among you; and I conclude, earnestly testifying unto you, Behold this stone shall be a witness unto you, that the Lord JESUS CHRIST has been a good Lord unto you, and if you seek him, he will be still found of you; but if you forsake him, he will cast you off for ever.

The "Bostonian Ebenezer," valuable as it is intrinsically to the student of the early life of Boston, is also an admirable illustration of Cotton Mather's thought and style. It was delivered on the 7th of April, 1698. On the 1st of April we read he made special request for the gracious presence of Christ in his design at the lecture in the following week to relate and improve the History of the Divine Dispensations towards the town of which he was a native. "The Lord having Helped me beyond my expectation," he writes, "in preparing a Discourse for the Lecture, Hee yett more gloriously *Helped* mee, in uttering of it unto a vast Assembly of His people. I first Laid

my Sinful mouth in the Dust on my Study-floor before the Lord, where I cast myself, in my supplications for His Assistance and Acceptance, as utterly unworthy thereof. But the Lord made my sinful mouth to become this Day, the Trumpet of His glory; and the Hearts of the Inhabitants of the Town were strangely moved by what was Delivered among them." The lecture was "much desired for publication." It was printed with another sermon, entitled "Household Religion," in a little volume, and was afterwards republished in the first volume of the "Magnalia."

There are two valuable modern lives of Cotton Mather,—by Rev. A. P. Marvin and Barrett Wendell. The older biographies are those by Samuel Mather, Samuel G. Drake, and W. B. O. Peabody. The chapter on "The Mather Family and its Influence," by Rev. Henry M. Dexter, in the "Memorial History of Boston" (vol. ii.), is important, as are the critical discussions of Mather's character and influence, especially in connection with the witchcraft persecutions, by C. W. Upham, S. F. Haven, D. A. Goddard, and W. F. Poole. There is an admirable account of the "Magnalia," with an estimate of Mather's services for New England history, in Jameson's "Historical Writing in America."

PUBLISHED BY
THE DIRECTORS OF THE OLD SOUTH WORK,
Old South Meeting-house, Boston, Mass.



The Destruction of the Tea.

By THOMAS HUTCHINSON.

FROM HIS HISTORY OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

[1773] The assembly being prorogued, there was again room to hope for a few months of freedom from civil contention. The complaint against the governor was gone to England; the salaries of the judges were suspended for the consideration of the next session: these were the two subjects of controversy peculiar to Massachusetts colony. Not more than two or three months had passed before a new subject was brought on, which had its effect in all the colonies, but greater in Massachusetts than in any other.

When the affairs of the East India Company were under the consideration of Parliament, to facilitate the consumption of tea, a vast quantity whereof then lay in the warehouses, it was determined to export a part of it, on account of the company, to the colonies, there to be sold by factors at a much lower price than it could be afforded by particular merchants who purchased it in England. When the intelligence first came to Boston, it caused no alarm. The threepenny duty had been paid the last two years without any stir, and some of the great friends to liberty had been importers of tea. The body of the people were pleased with the prospect of drinking tea at less expense than ever. The only apparent discontent was among the importers of tea, as well those who had been legal importers from England, as others who had illegally imported from Holland; and the complaint was against the East India Company for monopolizing a branch of commerce which had been beneficial to a great number of particular merchants. And the first suggestion of a design in the ministry to enlarge the revenue, and to habituate the colonies to parliamentary taxes,

was made from England ; and opposition to the measure was recommended, with an intimation that it was expected that the tea would not be suffered to be landed.* The committees of correspondence in the several colonies soon availed themselves of so favourable an opportunity for promoting their great purpose. It soon appeared to be their general determination that, at all events, the tea should be sent back to England in the ships which brought it. The first motions were at Philadelphia,† where, at a meeting of the people, every man who should be concerned in unlading, receiving, or vending the tea was pronounced an enemy to his country. This was one of the eight resolves passed at the meeting.

The example was soon followed at Boston.‡ The people were summoned, by notifications posted in different quarters, to meet at the tree of liberty, to hear the resignation of the consignees of the tea, which was then daily expected. The consignees also, by a letter left at one of their houses, were required to attend at the same time at their peril. The people met, but, the consignees not appearing, a committee was appointed to acquaint them at one of their warehouses where they had met that, as they had neglected to attend, the people thought themselves warranted to consider them as their enemies. They treated the message with contempt, and the people, many of whom had followed the committee, forced open the doors of the warehouse, and attempted to enter a room in which the consignees, with some of their friends, were shut up ; but, meeting with resistance, they soon after dispersed, and the body of the people who remained at the tree, upon the return of their committee, dispersed also. This seems to have been intended only as an intimation to the consignees of what they had to expect. Two days after, what was called a “legal” meeting of the inhabitants was held in Faneuil Hall. Here the resolves which had been passed by the people of Philadelphia were first adopted ; and then a further resolve passed that the inhabitants of the town, by all means in their power, will prevent the sale of the teas exported by the East India Company, and that they justly expect no merchant will, on any pretence whatever, import any tea liable to the duty. Committees were also appointed to wait on the several persons to

* The letters were dated in England the beginning of August, and were received in America the latter end of September and beginning of October.

† October 8.

‡ November 3.

whom the teas were consigned, and in the name of the town to request them from a regard to their characters, and to the peace and good order of the town, immediately to resign their trust. Each of the consignees gave an answer of the same import, that, as they were not yet acquainted with the terms upon which the teas were consigned to them, they were not able to give a definitive answer to the request of the town. The answers were all voted to be daringly affrontive to the town, and the meeting was immediately after dissolved.

Three vessels were expected every hour with the teas. The consignees were afraid of exposing themselves and their bondsmen to damages, which might arise from a refusal or neglect to execute their trust; on the other hand, they were anxiously concerned for their personal safety, and made their application to the governor.* He foresaw that this would prove a more difficult affair than any which had preceded it since he had been in the chair. The controversies with the council and house had a tendency to deprive him of the esteem and favour of the people; but he had not been apprehensive of injury to his person. He was now to encounter with bodies of the people collected together, and a great proportion of them the lowest part of the people, from whom, when there is no power to restrain them, acts of violence are to be expected. He knew that the council would give him no aid. A man of the most influence among them had said to him that he was of opinion, instead of any attempts to suppress the motions of the people, it was more advisable to recommend to the consignees to reship the tea to England. He had no expectations of being able to protect the persons of the consignees or the property under their care. He considered that, if the ships came into the harbour above the castle, they could not pass by it again without a permit under his hand, and that his granting such permit would be more than he should be able to justify. He therefore advised to their anchoring without the castle, and their waiting for orders; and this advice was approved of by the consignees, and by the owner of the ship first expected, if not by the owners of the other ships; and orders were given to the pilots accordingly.

All design of riots and acts of violence had been disclaimed by the conductors of measures for preventing the tea from

* The teas were consigned to three different houses, one part to two sons of the governor, another part to Richard Clarke and sons, and a third to Benjamin Faneuil and Joshua Winslow.

being landed. A great number of rioters assembled, notwithstanding, before the house of Mr. Clarke, one of the consignees, in the evening, and attempted to force their way in, broke the windows to pieces, and otherwise damaged it, so as to cause the occupiers to remove out of it. One of the consignees fired with ball upon the mob, from one of the windows, soon after which the rioters dispersed.

The next day a town meeting was held in Boston, for the sole purpose of inquiring of the consignees whether they were prepared to give a definitive answer to the request of the town. They informed the town that they had received advice from their friends in England of such engagements in their behalf, merely of a commercial nature, as put it out of their power to comply with the request of the town. Immediately upon receiving this answer, the meeting dissolved itself. This sudden dissolution struck more terror into the consignees than the most minatory resolves. The same evening, by the advice of some of their friends, they resolved to petition the governor and council to take under the protection of government the property of the East India Company, which they were willing to resign, in order to its being landed and secured, until further direction from the owners. This measure was charged to the governor, who knew nothing of it until he came to town from his house in the country, the next morning, to attend a council summoned upon the general state of the province; nor had he any expectation of success from it.

The governor laid before the council the distracted state of the province from the measures of the inhabitants of Boston, who were in possession of the powers of government, and required advice and assistance, in order to the recovery of them. He acquainted them with the attack upon the house of one of the consignees, their dread of further violence upon the arrival of the tea, which was expected every hour; that he had called upon the civil magistrates, and had directed a military company of the inhabitants to hold themselves in readiness to obey their orders, in suppressing all riotous assemblies of the people; but all had been to no purpose. One of the council observed that the last riot was not of the most enormous kind,—that in Sir Robert Walpole's time mobs had been frequent in England. Government there was then forced to give up the excise, and Sir Robert had promised never to bring it on again,—the people would not bear the cider act; and the disorders

among the people here were caused by unconstitutional acts of Parliament. Another observed that sending the tea by the East India Company to America was the plan of the ministry, in order to raise a revenue ; that he dreaded the consequences, and was of opinion that the only way to prevent them was by the consignees resigning their trust.

Whilst this debate was going on, the consignees delivered their petition to the secretary, some parts whereof, after it had been read, they were called in to explain ; and having signified that they were in danger of violence to their persons, and that they feared the destruction of the tea, if there should be any attempt to land it, they prayed for protection to both, promising to wait for further directions from the East India Company, and in the mean time to take no step towards the sale of the tea without permission from the governor and council. When they had withdrawn, the gentleman who had proposed their resigning explained himself, not intending a resignation into the hands of the governor and council ; and exception was taken to their having any concern with the tea, lest they should make themselves liable to answer for any damage which might happen to it. But, some of the council desiring an adjournment, the matter was continued from Friday until Tuesday following, and, there being then but a bare quorum present, it was moved that the governor should make a further adjournment, to which he consented ; and, the select men of Boston having been first sent for, it was recommended to them to use their endeavours to preserve the peace of the town, and they expressed their opinions that, while the affair was under the consideration of the governor and council, the people would remain quiet.

Several members appeared upon this adjournment, who had not been present before. Mr. Bowdoin acquainted the governor that he had reduced his thoughts to writing, which he begged leave to read, and to lay the paper on the table. To this the governor excepted as irregular, and as it would make an ill precedent. After much debate, and after the council had, in general, discovered a disinclination to any other act or advice than a formal call upon the peace officers to be vigilant, which had been often done, and as often met with contempt, a motion was made that, as the opinion of the council was evident, a committee might be appointed to reduce it to a proper form. There was no room to doubt that the design was to prepare something for the publick rather than for the

sake of propriety in the council records, and the governor doubted whether he ought to consent ; but, finding his instructions countenanced such a proceeding, he suffered the appointment of a committee, which withdrew into the lobby, where they had not remained long enough to write a paper of one-half the length of their report before they returned with it in form. There was no room to doubt of its being the paper intended to be read by Mr. Bowdoin, with such preface or other addition as was proper for the report of a committee. Upon hearing it read, the governor immediately warned them of the consequences of it ; that it would be highly resented in England, and would be urged there to shew the necessity of a change in their constitution. He pointed out one very exceptionable part, which struck many of them so forcibly that they wished the governor would give them more time for consideration, to which desire he readily acceded, and ordered an adjournment from Saturday to Monday following.

On Sunday one of the ships with the tea arrived, and anchored below the castle. Notification in a form* proper to inflame the people was posted up, calling upon them to assemble ; and while the governor and council were sitting on the Monday in the council chamber, and known to be consulting upon means for preserving the peace of the town, several thousands, inhabitants of Boston and other towns, were assembled in a publick meeting-house at a small distance, in direct opposition and defiance. The council, when they had considered the exception which the governor had made, ordered a recommitment of the report ; but it was returned without any material alteration, all advice to secure the tea upon its being landed being expressly refused, because such advice would be a measure for procuring payment of the duty. Three or four of the council in the debate appeared to disapprove of the report, but, when the question was put, it passed unanimously ; and the last and senior councilor, though he had argued very strongly against it, gave his voice for it, adding that it would not do for him to be alone. The council advised the governor's calling upon the magistrates to meet, and to take necessary care for the preservation of the peace ; which advice being

* " Friends ! brethren ! countrymen !— That worst of plagues, the detested tea, shipped for this port by the East India Company, is now arrived in this harbour,—the hour of destruction or manly opposition to the machinations of tyranny stare you in the face. Every friend to his country, to himself, and posterity, is now called upon to meet at Faneuil Hall, at nine o'clock *this day*, at which time the bells will ring, to make an united and successful resistance to this last, worst, and most destructive measure of administration."

complied with, the people, in a few hours after, passed a vote, which they caused to be printed, declaring that "the conduct of Governor Hutchinson, in requiring the justices of peace in the town to meet and use their endeavours to suppress routs, riots, &c., carried a designed reflection upon the people there met together, and was solely calculated to serve the views of administration." The council, declining any further advice, were dismissed; the people continued together, in possession of all the power of government, for any purpose they thought fit.

The consignees of the tea, when they saw no prospect of protection from government, made proposals to Mr. Adams, and others, a standing committee of the town, for securing the tea, and forbearing to make sale of any part of it, until they could receive directions from their principals; but no proposals were hearkened to. And, as soon as the master of the ship which brought the tea came on shore, he was sent for by this committee; and, after examination, both the master and owner were required, at their peril, to cause the ship to be brought up to town, and to a particular wharf, where it had not been customary for ships from London to unlade.* The consignees of the tea, judging themselves no longer in a place of safety, withdrew to the castle.

The people assembled in Boston took the name of "the body" instead of a "legal town meeting," and began with that spirit with which all established powers ought to act in the exercise of their legal constitutional authority. They resolved that, "at all events," the tea arrived in Captain Hall should be returned to the place from whence it came, and that no duty should be paid upon it. They then adjourned to the afternoon, to give time for the consignees to deliberate. As soon as they reassembled, they resolved that the tea should be sent back in the same bottom in which it came. To this resolve the owner of the vessel, who was present in the meeting, said he must enter a protest. It was thereupon resolved that Mr. Rotch, the owner, be directed not to enter the tea, and Captain Hall, the master, not to suffer any of it to be landed, at their peril. They did not stop at mere declaratory acts or naked resolves. This, they knew, would render future

* Had the same method been taken, which was afterwards taken at Philadelphia and New York, and the ship been ordered back to London without entering at the custom-house, the difficulty to which the governor was subjected, by refusing his permit, would have been avoided; but the greatest part of the goods for the supply of New England that winter was on board the ship arrived and the other ships expected, and the merchants would never have submitted to the disappointment and loss.

acts and resolves contemptible. They established a watch of twenty-five inhabitants for securing the ship and cargo, and appointed a captain for the night.

It being intimated that the consignees, if they had time, would make their proposals to the body, "out of great tenderness to them, and from a strong desire to bring this matter to a conclusion, notwithstanding the time they had hitherto expended on them, to no purpose," the meeting was prevailed with to adjourn to the next morning.

The governor, seeing the powers of government thus taken out of the hands of the legally established authority, could not justify a total silence, though he knew he could say nothing which would check the usurpers. He sent the sheriff with a proclamation, to be read in the meeting, bearing testimony against it as an unlawful assembly, and requiring the moderator and the people present forthwith to separate at their peril. The sheriff desired leave to read the directions he had received from the governor, which was granted; but the reading of the proclamation was opposed, until Mr. Adams signified his acquiescence. Being read, a general hiss followed, and then a question whether they would surcease all further proceedings, as the governor required, which was determined in the negative, *nemine contradicente*.

The consignees, in a letter to the select men of Boston, which was read to the meeting, signified that it was utterly out of their power to send the tea back to England, but they would engage to keep it in a store until they could receive further directions from England, to which they afterwards added that they would be content to have it under the constant inspection of a committee, to be appointed by the town. But all was declared not in the least degree satisfactory, and that nothing short of sending back the tea would be so. The owner and master of the ship were directed to attend the "body"; and a vote passed, while they were present, without a negative, "that it is the firm resolution of the body that the owner shall return the tea in the same vessel in which it came, and that they now require it of him." The owner promised to comply, but intimated that it was by compulsion, and that he should be obliged to protest, to save himself from damage. The master also promised to carry it back. The factors for the two other vessels expected were sent for, and, being informed of the engagements made by the owner and master of the ship arrived,

they also made such engagements as were satisfactory; and, after making provision for the continuance of a watch, so long as the tea continued in the harbour, and for an alarm to the inhabitants upon any molestation, they passed a resolve "that if any person, or persons, shall hereafter import tea from Great Britain, or if any master, or masters, of any vessel, or vessels, in Great Britain, shall take the same on board to be imported to this place, until the unrighteous act (*mentioned in the preamble to the resolve*) shall be repealed, he, or they, shall be deemed, by this body, an enemy to his country; and we will prevent the landing and sale of the same, and the payment of any duty thereon, and will effect the return thereof to the place from whence it shall come." Copies of this resolve were ordered to be sent to England and to the seaport towns in the province.

A resolve passed to carry the votes and resolves into execution at the risk of their lives and properties; and the meeting was dissolved.

A more determined spirit was conspicuous in this body than in any of the former assemblies of the people. It was composed of the lowest as well, and probably in as great proportion, as of the superior ranks and orders, and all had an equal voice. No eccentric or irregular motions, however, were suffered to take place. All seemed to have been the plan of but few, it may be of a single person. The "form" of a town meeting was assumed, the select men of Boston, town clerk, &c., taking their usual places; but, the inhabitants of any other towns being admitted, it could not assume the name of a "legal" meeting of any town.

Immediately after the dissolution of this body the committees of correspondence of the towns of Boston, Roxbury, Dorchester, Brookline, and Cambridge, united, and held their meetings daily, or by short adjournments, in Faneuil Hall, or one of the rooms belonging to it, and gave such directions as they thought proper. Two of the other vessels with tea arriving from London, they were ordered by this new body to the same wharf where the first ship lay, under pretence of the conveniency of having the whole under one guard. It soon after appeared that a further conveniency accompanied it.*

*Two days after the dissolution of the body the following publication was posted in different parts of the town, and printed in the newspapers. It might be the act of a single person unknown, but in such a time it carried terror with it, which probably was the principal design of it. "Whereas it has been reported that a permit will be given, by the custom-house, for landing the tea now on board a vessel lying in this harbour, commanded by Captain Hall: This is to remind the publick that it was solemnly voted, by the body of the people of

As a permit or pass was always required at the castle, for all vessels except small coasters, and there were several men of war in the harbour, which it was supposed would stop the ship from proceeding any other way, the destruction of the tea was considered as necessary to prevent payment of the duty. A demand was made from the collector, in form, of a clearance for the ship, which he could not grant until the goods which were imported, and regularly entered, were landed, and the duties paid, or secured; and the like demand of a permit was made of the naval officer, with whom blank permits were intrusted by the governor, to be filled up, and delivered to such vessels only as had been cleared at the custom-house, and, therefore, in this case was refused. It was expected that in twenty days after the arrival of the tea a demand of the duty would be made by the collector, and the ship or goods be seized; which would occasion additional difficulties. Another meeting of the body was, therefore, called, in order to inquire the reason of the delay in sending the ship back to England. The people came into Boston from the adjacent towns within twenty miles, from some, more, from others, less, as they were affected; and, as soon as they were assembled,* enjoined the owner of the ship, at his peril, to demand of the collector of the customs a clearance for the ship, and appointed ten of their number a committee to accompany him; and adjourned for two days to receive the report. Being reassembled and informed by the owner that a clearance was refused, he was then enjoined immediately to apply to the governor for a pass by the castle. He made an apology to the governor for coming upon such an errand, having been compelled to it; and received an answer that no pass ever had been, or lawfully could be, given to any vessel which had not first been cleared at the custom-house, and that, upon his producing a clearance, such pass would immediately be given by the naval officer. The governor inquired of him whether he did not apprehend his ship in danger from the people, and offered him a letter to

this and the neighbouring towns, assembled at the Old South Meeting-house, on Tuesday, the 30th of November, that the said tea never should be landed in this province, or pay one farthing of duty. And, as the aiding, or assisting, in procuring, or granting, any such permit for landing the said tea, or any other tea so circumstanced, or in offering any permit, when obtained, to the master or commander of the said ship, or any other ship in the same situation, must betray 'an inhuman thirst for blood,' and will also, in a great measure, accelerate confusion and civil war, this is to assure such publick enemies of this country that they will be considered and treated as wretches unworthy to live, and will be made the first victims of our resentment.

The People."

* Dec. 14, 1773.

Admiral Montagu, desiring him to afford all necessary protection. He said he had been advised to remove his vessel under the stern of the admiral's ship, but, among other reasons for not doing it, mentioned his fears of the rage of the people; that his concern was not for his ship, which he did not believe was in danger, but he could not tell what would be the fate of the tea on board. He declined taking any letter to the admiral, and returned to the people. The governor was unable to judge what would be the next step. The secretary had informed him that a principal leader of the people had declared, in the hearing of the deputy secretary, that, if the governor should refuse a pass, he would demand it himself, at the head of one hundred and fifty men, &c.; and he was not without apprehensions of a further application. But he was relieved from his suspense, the same evening, by intelligence from town of the total destruction of the tea.

It was not expected that the governor would comply with the demand; and, before it was possible for the owner of the ship to return from the country with an answer, about fifty men had prepared themselves, and passed by the house where the people were assembled to the wharf where the vessels lay, being covered with blankets, and making the appearance of Indians. The body of the people remained until they had received the governor's answer; and then, after it had been observed to them that, every thing else in their power having been done, it now remained to proceed in the only way left, and that, the owner of the ship having behaved like a man of honour, no injury ought to be offered to his person or property, the meeting was declared to be dissolved, and the body of the people repaired to the wharf, and surrounded the immediate actors, as a guard and security, until they had finished their work. In two or three hours they hoisted out of the holds of the ships three hundred and forty-two chests of tea, and emptied them into the sea. The governor was unjustly censured by many people in the province, and much abused by the pamphlet and newspaper writers in England for refusing his pass, which, it was said, would have saved the property thus destroyed; but he would have been justly censured if he had granted it. He was bound, as all the king's governors were, by oath, faithfully to observe the acts of trade, and to do his endeavour that the statute of King William, which establishes a custom-house, and is particularly mentioned in the oath, be carried into execution.

His granting a pass to a vessel which had not cleared at the custom-house would have been a direct violation of his oath, by making himself an accessory in the breach of those laws which he had sworn to observe. It was out of his power to have prevented this mischief without the most imminent hazard of much greater mischief. The tea could have been secured in the town in no other way than by landing marines from the men of war, or bringing to town the regiment which was at the castle, to remove the guards from the ships, and to take their places. This would have brought on a greater convulsion than there was any danger of in 1770, and it would not have been possible, when two regiments were forced out of town, for so small a body of troops to have kept possession of the place. Such a measure the governor had no reason to suppose would have been approved of in England. He was not sure of support from any one person in authority. The house of representatives openly avowed principles which implied complete independency. The council, appointed by charter to be assisting to him, declared against any advice from which might be inferred an acknowledgment of the authority of Parliament in imposing taxes.

The superior judges were intimidated from acting upon their own judgments by the censure of the house of representatives, and by the threats of impeachment of all who shall receive their salaries under the authority of an act of Parliament, which had enabled the king to grant them.

There was not a justice of peace, sheriff, constable, or peace officer in the province who would venture to take cognizance of any breach of law, against the general bent of the people.

The military authority, which by charter was given to the governor, had been assumed by this body of the people, who appointed guards and officers, which appeared sometimes with fire-arms, though generally without them. And, when he required the colonel of the regiment of militia in the town to use the powers with which by law he was intrusted, he excused himself by urging the hazard to which he should be exposed and the inefficacy of any attempt.

Even the declarations of the governor against the unlawful invasions of the people upon the authority of government were charged against him as officious, unnecessary acts, and were made to serve to inflame the people and increase disorders. He considered the intimations given him of personal danger

as part of the general plan for discouraging him from persevering in his duty ; but, in some instances of a serious appearance, he could not take any measures for his security, without the charge of needless precaution, in order to bring an odium against the people, when they meant him no harm.

Notwithstanding the forlorn state he was in, he thought it necessary to keep up some shew of authority, and caused a council to be summoned to meet at Boston the day after the destruction of the tea, and went to town himself to be present at it ; but a quorum did not attend. The people had not fully recovered from the state of mind which they were in the preceding night. Great pains had been taken to persuade them that the obstructions they had met with, which finally brought on the loss of the tea, were owing to his influence ; and, being urged to it by his friends, he left the town, and lodged that night at the castle, under pretence of a visit to his sons, who were confined there with the other consignees of the tea. Failing in an attempt for a council the next day at Milton, he met them, three days after, at Cambridge, where they were much divided in their opinion. One of them declared against any step whatever. The people, he said, had taken the powers of government into their hands,—any attempt to restrain them would only enrage them, and render them more desperate ; while another observed that, having done everything else in their power to prevent the tea from being landed, and all to no purpose, they had been driven to the necessity of destroying it, as a less evil than submission to the duty. So many of the actors and abettors were universally known that a proclamation, with a reward for discovery, would have been ridiculed. The attorney-general, therefore, was ordered to lay the matter before the grand jury, who, there was no room to expect, would ever find a bill for what they did not consider as an offence.

This was the boldest stroke which had yet been struck in America. The people in all parts of the province shewed more or less concern at the expected consequences. They were, however, at a distance ; something might intervene to divert them. Besides, the thing was done : there was no way of nullifying it. Their leaders feared no consequences. To engage the people in some desperate measure had long been their plan. They never discovered more concern than when the people were quiet upon the repeal of an act of Parliament, or upon concessions made, or assurances given ; and never

more satisfaction than when government had taken any new measures, or appeared to be inclined to them, tending, or which might be improved, to irritate and disturb the people. They had nothing to fear for themselves. They had gone too far to recede. If the colonies were subject to the supreme authority and laws of Great Britain, their offences, long since, had been of the highest nature. Their all depended upon attaining to the object which first engaged them. There was no way of attaining to it but by involving the body of the people in the same circumstances they were in themselves. And it is certain that ever after this time an opinion was easily instilled, and was continually increasing, that the body of the people had also gone too far to recede, and that an open and general revolt must be the consequence; and it was not long before actual preparations were visibly making for it in most parts of the province.

In the course of my education I found no part of science a more pleasing study than history, and no part of the history of any country more useful than that of its government and laws. The history of Great Britain and its dominions was of all others the most delightful to me, and a thorough knowledge of the nature and constitution of the supreme and of the subordinate governments thereof I considered as what would be peculiarly beneficial to me in the line of life upon which I was entering; and the public employments to which I was early called, and sustained for near thirty years together, gave me many advantages for the acquisition of this knowledge.—*From a note found among Hutchinson's papers, written near the end of his life.*

The first careful biography of Thomas Hutchinson, by Professor James K. Hosmer, has been published the present year (1896). To it the student is referred for full information concerning Hutchinson's life and writings and the troublous circumstances amidst which he lived,—circumstances of such a character as has made it almost impossible until the present time for Americans to do the royal governor justice. It is noteworthy that Professor Hosmer, the biographer of Hutchinson, is also the author of the most popular life of Samuel Adams. "It was while writing the life of that sturdiest and trustiest of the Sons of Liberty, indeed," says Professor Hosmer, "that the worth and greatness of his opponent became plain to me. To draw one without drawing the other is as impossible as it would be to photograph a wrestler in action without catching at the same time the champion with whom he was locked.

. . . The idea has constantly pressed that this man, so long neglected and misrepresented, one of the worthiest of the sons of Massachusetts, ought to have a book to himself."

To those who are interested in the Old South work, this biography of Hutchinson has special import and value; for it was prepared at the instance and by the assistance of the founder of that work. "This book," says Professor Hosmer in his preface, "like the lives of Samuel Adams and Young Sir Henry Vane, and the 'Short History of Anglo-Saxon Freedom,' has been written for the late lamented Mrs. Mary Hemenway,—a carrying out of her Old South work. That noble woman's candor was as remarkable as her patriotic enthusiasm. While stimulating, in every way she could, interest in and love for our country and the men who brought it into being, she had a kind thought for the foe who honestly stood against them; and she desired to have justice done the victim as well as to have praise rendered the victors."

Professor Hosmer's biography and the governor's own "Diary and Letters" (two volumes) furnish us all the material which we need for a proper understanding of his life. The special student will read the essays by Whitmore, Poole, Dr. Ellis, and others. For a good English account see the "Dictionary of National Biography," and, with reference especially to the history, see the pages upon Hutchinson in Jameson's "Historical Writing in America."

Thomas Hutchinson was born in Boston, September 9, 1711, his father's house in Garden Court Street being the finest house in the town. He entered Harvard College at the age of twelve, graduating four years later, in 1727. The first volume of his "History of Massachusetts Bay" was published in 1764, while he was chief justice of the colony. The second volume was published in 1767; but the third volume, written twenty years after he left Boston in 1774, and covering the history of the colony down to that point, did not appear till 1828, more than forty years after his death. Hon. James Savage brought about its publication, after urging it through more than ten years upon the governor's descendants. In a "Hutchinson Bibliography," privately printed (H. O. Houghton & Co., 1857), Mr. Charles Deane gives an account of the different editions and various fortunes of the several volumes. In the third volume Hutchinson "paints the portraits of his contemporaries, the men who bore him down after the fiercest possible struggle. The heat of the fight is still in the heart beating behind the limning pen. Otis, Sam Adams, Hancock, Bowdoin, are unattractive figures in his picture. Still, the trait-drawing is by no means without candor; and one wonders"—we quote Professor Hosmer—"that the picture is no darker. In the main, he is fair-minded, and in the circumstances surprisingly calm." The history, as a whole, Professor Hosmer pronounces "a carefully studied work, quite unparalleled in the meagre colonial literature,—a work which still is, and will always

remain, of the first authority respecting the beginnings of New England." "The researches of Governor Hutchinson into the early annals of Massachusetts," says Mr. W. F. Poole, "are of the highest historical value. He had opportunities of access to original papers such as no person now possesses. He had the tastes, the capacity for close application and research, the judicial understanding, and the freedom from prejudice and partisanship which characterize the genuine historian. His style, if not always elegant, is clear and simple, and singularly free from that sensational and rhetorical method of statement which is the bane of much of the historical writing of the present day."

The pages in Hutchinson's history relating to the destruction of the tea are chosen for the present leaflet because the episode itself is so well known. All are familiar with it as viewed by the men of the Boston town meetings. It is interesting to look at it through the eyes of the royal governor.

PUBLISHED BY
THE DIRECTORS OF THE OLD SOUTH WORK,
Old South Meeting-house, Boston, Mass.



Description of the New Netherlands.

By ADRIAN VAN DER DONCK.

A DESCRIPTION OF THE NEW NETHERLANDS (AS THE SAME ARE AT THE PRESENT TIME); COMPREHENDING THE FRUITFULNESS AND NATURAL ADVANTAGES OF THE COUNTRY, AND THE DESIRABLE OPPORTUNITIES WHICH IT PRESENTS, WITHIN ITSELF, AND FROM ABROAD, FOR THE SUBSISTENCE OF MAN; WHICH ARE NOT SURPASSED ELSEWHERE. 1655.

Where New-Netherlands is situated.

This country is situated in the New American World, beginning north of the Equinoctial Line, 38 deg. and 53 min., extending north-easterly along the sea-coast to the 42d deg., and is named *New-Netherlands*, by the Netherlanders, for reasons to be related hereafter; lying in the latitude of Sardinia and Corsica, in the Mediterranean Sea, and of Spain and France along the Ocean; the South River* corresponding exactly with the Flemish Islands, with the rivers of Lisbon, with the south point of the Island of Sardinia, and of the *Punctum Meridionale*† of the Orientals, reckoning an easterly course from the Canary Islands by west, upon the 316th degree, or counting due west 44 degrees from the *Punctum Meridionale*, whereon we hold the Canary Islands, being 660 miles, corresponding with Cape Mesuratta on the Barbary coast in Africa, in the kingdom of Tripoli, and with Cape Spartivento, being the uttermost corner of Italy against the Mediterranean Sea. New-Netherlands is

*The river Delaware.

†The *Punctum Meridionale* of the Orientals is probably the meridian assumed by Ptolemy, which passed through the farthest of the Canary Islands. The Dutch geographers and mariners pitched upon the Peak of Teneriffe for their meridian.

a fine, acceptable, healthy, extensive, and agreeable country, wherein all people can more easily gain a competent support than in the Netherlands, or in any other quarter of the globe which is known to me or which I have visited.

When, and by whom, New-Netherlands was first discovered.

This country was first found and discovered in the year of our Lord 1609; when, at the cost of the incorporated East India Company, a ship named the Half-Moon was fitted out to discover a westerly passage to the kingdom of China. This ship was commanded by Hendrick Hudson, as captain and supercargo, who was an Englishman by birth, and had resided many years in Holland, during which he had been in the employment of the East India Company. This ship sailed from the Canary Islands, steering a course north by west; and, after sailing twenty days with good speed, land was discovered, which, by their calculation, lay 320 degrees by west. On approaching the land, and observing the coast and shore convenient, they landed, and examined the country as well as they could at the time, and as opportunity offered; from which they were well satisfied that no Christian people had ever been there before, and that they were the first who by Providence had been guided to the discovery of the country.

Why this Country is called New-Netherlands.

We have before related that the Netherlanders, in the year 1609, had first discovered this country, of which they took possession as their own in right of their discovery, and finding the country fruitful and advantageously situated, possessing good and safe havens, rivers, fisheries, and many other worthy appurtenances corresponding with the Netherlands, or in truth excelling the same; for this good reason it was named New-Netherlands, being as much as to say, another or a new-found Netherlands. Still the name depended most upon the first discovery, and upon the corresponding temperatures of the climates of the two countries, which to strangers is not so observable. We notice also that the French in the same quarter of the new world have named their territory Canada or Nova Francia, only because they were the first Europeans who possessed the lands in those parts, for the temperature of the cli-

mate is so cold and wintry that the snow commonly lies on the earth four or five months in succession and from four to five feet deep, which renders it costly to keep domestic animals there; and, although this country lies no farther than fifty degrees north, still the air in winter is so fine, clear, and sharp there that when the snow once falls, which it commonly does about the first of December, it does not thaw away except by the power of the sun in April. If a shower of rain happens to fall in winter (which is seldom), then it forms a hard crust on the surface of the snow, that renders the travelling difficult for man and beast. The air there is clear and dry, and the snow seldom melts or thaws away suddenly.

The Swedes also have a possession on the south (Delaware) river, which they name New-Sweden. The climate of this place by no means corresponds with that of Sweden, as it lies in latitude 39 degrees north. But, although they have formed a settlement there, still their title is disputed, for they can show no legal right or claim to their possessions.

The country having been first found or discovered by the Netherlanders, and keeping in view the discovery of the same, it is named the New-Netherlands. That this country was first found or discovered by the Netherlanders is evident and clear from the fact that the Indians or natives of the land, many of whom are still living, and with whom I have conversed, declare freely that before the arrival of the Lowland ship, the Half-Moon, in the year 1609, they (the natives) did not know that there were any other people in the world than those who were like themselves, much less any people who differed so much in appearance from them as we did. Their men on the breasts and about the mouth were bare, and their women, like ours, hairy; going unclad and almost naked, particularly in summer, while we are always clothed and covered. When some of them first saw our ship approaching at a distance, they did not know what to think about her, but stood in deep and solemn amazement, wondering whether it were a ghost or apparition, coming down from heaven, or from hell. Others of them supposed her to be a strange fish or sea monster. When they discovered men on board, they supposed them to be more like devils than human beings. Thus they differed about the ship and men. A strange report was also spread about the country concerning our ship and visit, which created great astonishment and surprise amongst the Indians. These things we have frequently

heard them declare, which we hold as certain proof that the Netherlanders were the first finders or discoverers and possessors of the New-Netherlands. There are Indians in the country, who remember a hundred years, and, if there had been any other people here before us, they would have known something of them, and, if they had not seen them themselves, they would have heard an account of them from others. There are persons who believe that the Spaniards have been here many years ago, when they found the climate too cold to their liking, and again left the country; and that the maize or Turkish corn and beans found among the Indians were left with them by the Spaniards. This opinion or belief is improbable, as we can discover nothing of the kind from the Indians. They say that their corn and beans were received from the southern Indians, who received their seed from a people who resided still farther south, which may well be true, as the Castilians have long since resided in Florida. The maize may have been among the Indians in the warm climate long ago. However, our Indians say that they did eat roots and the bark of trees instead of bread, before the introduction of Indian corn or maize.

THE NETHERLANDERS THE FIRST POSSESSORS OF NEW-NETHERLAND.

Although the possession and title which the Netherlanders have to New-Netherlands are amply treated of in their length and breadth, in the *Representation of the Commonalty*, and little more can be said in relation to them unless access be had to the Registers of the Honorable West India Company, we will nevertheless touch upon them briefly, *en passant*. When this country was first discovered by the Netherlanders in the year 1609, and it was told them by the natives that they were the first Christian explorers in that region, they took possession of it in the name and on behalf of their High Mightinesses, the Lords of the States-General of the United Netherlands, first in the South Bay at Cape *Hinloopen*, which they so called at that time, and which still retains that name; and so all along the coast and up the rivers, giving names to the different places as far as the great North River, a great distance up which they sailed, and which some of the English will still call Hudson's River, but which was then named *Mauritius* River after Prince

Maurice, who at that time was governor in Netherland; from whence they sailed further along till they went beyond Cape Cod, of which they also took possession, and which they named New Holland. And our Netherlanders have sailed there and traded at the same places thus taken into possession from time to time since then, until the charter was granted to the West Indian Company, when they passed under its jurisdiction. And although before we had there in our favor the circumstances of fifty families and cattle, yet since the year 1622 several forts have been built, farms and plantations taken up, much of the land bought of the natives, and then tokens of possession shown as is to be seen at length in the *Representation of the Commonalty of New-Netherland*, to which we refer the curious reader. It is therefore unusual, unhand-some, and unreasonable for any other nation to assert title or jurisdiction over these places or over those situated between such as were first discovered by the Netherlanders.

*Of the Limits of the New-Netherlands, and how far the
Same extend.*

New-Netherlands is bounded by the ocean or great sea, which separates Europe from America, by New-England and the Fresh (Connecticut) river, in part by the river of Canada, (the St. Lawrence), and by Virginia. Some persons who are not well informed name all North-America *Virginia*, because Virginia from her tobacco trade is well known. These circumstances, therefore, will be observed as we progress, as admonitions to the readers. The coast of New-Netherlands extends and stretches mostly north-east and south-west. The sea-shore is mostly formed of pure sand, having a dry beach. On the south side, the country is bounded by Virginia. Those boundaries are not yet well defined, but in the progress of the settlement of the country the same will be determined without difficulty. On the north-east the New-Netherlands abut upon New-England, where there are differences on the subject of boundaries which we wish were well settled. On the north, the river of Canada stretches a considerable distance, but to the north-west it is still undefined and unknown. Many of our Netherlanders have been far into the country, more than seventy or eighty miles from the river and sea-shore. We also frequently trade with the Indians, who come more than ten

and twenty days' journey from the interior, and who have been farther off to catch beavers, and they know of no limits to the country, and, when spoken to on the subject, they deem such enquiries to be strange and singular. Therefore we may safely say that we know not how deep or how far we extend inland. There are, however, many signs, which indicate a great extent of country, such as the land winds, which domineer much, with severe cold, the multitudes of beavers and land animals which are taken, and the great numbers of water-fowl, which fly to and fro across the country in the spring and fall seasons. From these circumstances we judge that the land extends several hundred miles into the interior. Therefore, the extent and greatness of this province are still unknown.

Of the Forelands and Sea-havens.

The coast of New-Netherlands extends south-west and north-east, as before mentioned, and is mostly clean and sandy, drying naturally; and, although the bare, bleak, and open sea breaks on the beach, still there is good anchorage in almost every place, because of the clean, sandy bottom. There seldom are severe gales from the sea, except from the south-east, with the spring tides. When the winds blow from the north-west, which domineer the strongest, then there is an upper or windward shore, with smooth water and little danger. For those reasons, the coast is as convenient to approach at all seasons as could be desired. The highlands, which are naturally dry, may be seen far at sea, and give timely warning.

The forelands are generally double, and in some places broken into islands (affording convenient situations for the keeping of stock), which would lead seamen to suppose, on approaching the shore, that the same were the main land, when the same are islands and forelands, within which lie large meadows, bays, and creeks, affording convenient navigable passages, and communications between places.

It has pleased God to protect against the raging sea those parts of the coast which have no double foreland, with natural barriers of firm, strong, and secure stone foundations, that preserve the coast from the inundations of the mighty ocean (which are ever to be feared), where the coast, if not thus protected, might be lessened and destroyed; particularly the nearest sea lands, against which the sea acts with most violence.

Nature has secured those positions with firm, high, and accommodated rocky heads and cliffs, which are as perfect formations as the arts and hands of man, with great expense, could make the same.

There are many and different sea-havens in the New-Netherlands, a particular description of which would form a work larger than we design this to be. We will therefore briefly notice this subject, and leave the same for the consideration of mariners and seamen. Beginning at the south and terminating at Long Island, first comes Godyn's bay, or the South (Delaware) bay, which was the first discovered. This bay lies in 39 degrees north latitude, being six (Dutch) miles wide and nine miles long, and having several banks or shoals, but still possessing many advantages ; convenient and safe anchorages for ships, with roomy and safe harbours. Here also is a good whale fishery. Whales are numerous in the winter on the coast and in the bay, where they frequently ground on the shoals and bars ; but they are not as fat as the Greenland whales. If, however, the fishery was well managed, it would be profitable. After ascending the bay nine miles, it is terminated in a river, which we name the South river, to which we will again refer hereafter, and pass on to the bay, wherein the East and North rivers terminate, and wherein Staten Island lies ; because the same is most frequented, and the country is most populous, and because the greatest negotiations in trade are carried on there ; and also because it is situated in the centre of the New-Netherlands. Hence it is named, *quasi per excellentiam*, "The Bay." But before we speak more at large of this place, we will attend to the places, and their advantages, which lie between this bay and the South bay.

Between those two bays, the coast, almost the whole distance, has double forelands, with many islands, which in some places lie two or three deep. Those forelands as well as the islands are well situated for seaboard towns, and all kind of fisheries, and also for the cultivation of grain, vineyards, and gardening, and the keeping of stock, for which purposes the land is tolerably good. Those lands are now mostly overgrown with different kinds of trees and grape-vines ; having many plums, hazel-nuts and strawberries, and much grass. The waters abound with oysters, having many convenient banks and beds where they may be taken.

Besides the many islands which lie between the aforesaid

bays, many of which are highland, there are also several fine bays and inland waters, which form good sea harbours for those who are acquainted with the inlets and entrances to the same, which at present are not much used; particularly the Bear-gat, Great and Little Egg Harbours, Barnegat, &c., wherein the anchorages are safe and secure. But as New-Netherlands is not yet well peopled, and as there are but few Christians settled at those places, these harbours are seldom used, unless the winds and weather render it necessary for safety.

The before-mentioned bay, wherein Staten Island lies, is the most famous, because the East and North rivers empty therein, which are two fine rivers, and will be further noticed hereafter. Besides those, there are several kills, inlets, and creeks, some of which resemble small rivers, as the Raritan, Kill van Col, Neuversinck, &c. Moreover, the said bay affords a safe and convenient haven from all winds, wherein a thousand ships may ride in safety inland. The entrance into the bay is reasonably wide or roomy, without much danger, and easily found by those who have entered the same, or are well instructed. We can also easily, if the wind and tide suit, in one tide sail and proceed from the sea to New-Amsterdam (which lies five miles from the open sea), with the largest ships fully laden; and in like manner proceed from New-Amsterdam to sea. But the outward bound vessels usually stop at the watering-place under Staten Island, to lay in a sufficient supply of wood and water, which are easily obtained at that place. We also frequently stop far in the bay behind Sand Point (Sandy Hook) in waiting for the last passengers and letters, and to avail ourselves of the wind and tide.

Along the sea-coast of Long Island there are also several safe, commodious inlets for small vessels, which are not much frequented by us. There also are many spacious inland bays, from which, by the inlets (at full tide), the sea is easy of access; otherwise those are too shallow. The same also are not much frequented by us. With population several of the places would become important, which now, for brevity's sake, we pass over.

Between Long Island and the main land there are throughout many safe and convenient places for large and small vessels, which may be occupied, if necessary. For in connection with the whole river which is held by many to be a bay, there

are in the main land and in the island opposite to the same many safe bays, harbours, and creeks, which are but little known to us, and which the English, by their devices, have appropriated. Although this subject is spoken of in the remonstrances of the New-Netherlands, we will pass over it without waking the *sleepers*, and attend briefly to the most important rivers, waters, and creeks.

Of the North River.

We have before noticed the name of this river, with the population and advantages of the country; and inasmuch as a particular and ample account of the same is preparing for publication, we will at once say that this river is the most famous, and the country the most populous of any in the New-Netherlands. There are also several colonies settled, besides the city of New-Amsterdam, on the island of Manhattan, where the most of the trade of this river centres. The river carries flood tides forty miles up the same.* Several fine creeks empty into this river, such as the Great and Small Esopus kills, Kats kill, Sleepy Haven kill, Colondonck's kill or Saw kill, Wapincke's kill, &c. We can also pass from the North river behind Manhattan island by the East river, without approaching New-Amsterdam. This river still remains altogether in the possession and jurisdiction of the Netherlanders, without being invaded; but, if the population did not increase and advance, there would be great danger of its long continuation. This river is rich in fishes: sturgeon, dunns, bass, sheep-heads, &c. I cannot refrain, although somewhat out of place, to relate a very singular occurrence, which happened in the month of March, 1647, at the time of a great freshet caused by the fresh water flowing down from above, by which the water of the river became nearly fresh to the bay, when at ordinary seasons the salt water flows up from twenty to twenty-four miles from the sea. At this season, two whales, of common size, swam up the river forty miles, from which place one of them returned and stranded about twelve miles from the sea, near which place four others also stranded the same year. The other run farther up the river, and grounded near the great Chahoos falls, about forty-three miles from the sea. This fish was tolerably fat, for although the citizens of Rensselaerwyck broiled out a

* A Dutch mile is about three English miles.

great quantity of train oil, still the whole river (the current being still rapid) was oily for three weeks, and covered with grease. As the fish lay rotting, the air was infected with its stench to such a degree that the smell was offensive and perceptible for two miles to leeward. For what purpose those whales ascended the river so far, it being at the time full forty miles from all salt or brackish water, it is difficult to say, unless their great desire for fish, which were plenty at this season, led them onward.

Forty-four miles from the sea this North river is divided. One part by four sprouts ascends to the great falls of the *Maquas kill*, which is named the *Chahoos*, of which we will treat presently. The other part, which retains the name of the North river, is navigable for boats several miles farther, and, according to the information of the Indians, rises in a great lake, from which the river of Canada also proceeds. This should be the lake of the *Iracoyesen* (lake Ontario), which is as great as the Mediterranean Sea, being about forty miles wide, when in the middle of the sea, no eye can see land or see over it. The lake also has extensive reed and brook lands of great breadth, wherein great multitudes of water-fowl breed in summer. When the Indians intend to cross this lake, they know certain islands which lie therein, and proceed from one to another by daylight, to the number of three or four, without which they could not find their way over the same. This, however, we relate on the information of the Indians. They also assert that we can proceed in boats to the river of Canada, which we deem incredible.

The other arm of the North river runs by four sprouts (as we have related) to the great falls of the *Maquas kill* (Mohawk river), which the Indians name the *Chahoos*, and our nation the Great Falls; above which the river is again several hundred yards wide, and the falls we estimate to be one hundred and fifty or two hundred feet high.* The water glides over the falls as smooth as if it ran over an even wall and fell over the same. The precipice is formed of firm blue rock; near by and below the falls there stand several rocks, which appear splendid in the water, rising above it like high turf-heaps, apparently from eight, sixteen, to thirty feet high; very delightful to the eye. This place is well calculated to exalt the fancy of the poets. The ancient fabulous writers would, if they had been

* This is care'less guessing, the falls being seventy feet high.

here, have exalted those works of nature, by the force of imagination, into the most artful and elegant descriptive illusions. The waters descend rapidly downwards from the falls, over a stony bottom, skipping, foaming and whirling boisterously about the distance of a gunshot or more, when it resumes an even course, and flows downwards. We name this the Maquas Kill, but still it is wider in most places than the Yssel of the Netherlands. It, however, always runs one way; is navigable for boats, being tolerably deep and not rapid; but it extends above sixty miles, and runs through the Maquas and Senecas countries to a lake, remaining boatable all the way. The river passes through fine land, and abounds with fish. The Indians, when they travel by water, and come to trade, usually come in canoes made of the bark of trees, which they know how to construct. When they come near the falls, they land, and carry their boats and their lading some distance below the falls, and proceed on their voyage; otherwise they would be driven over the falls and destroyed. An occurrence of this kind took place here in our time. An Indian, whom I have known, accompanied by his wife and child, with sixty beaver skins, descended the river in his canoe, in the spring, when the water runs rapid and the current is strongest, for the purpose of selling his beaver to the Netherlands. This Indian carelessly approached too near to the falls, before he discovered his danger, and, notwithstanding his utmost exertion to gain the land, his frail bark with all on board was swept over by the rapid current and down the falls; his wife and child were killed, his bark shattered to pieces, his cargo of furs damaged. But his life was preserved. I have frequently seen the Indian, and have heard him relate the perilous occurrence or adventure.

Of the Fresh River (Connecticut River).

This river is called the Fresh river, because it affords more fresh water than many other rivers. It has advantageous navigable situations. It also has finely situated land, and the country affords a tolerably good fur trade. But as this river with its advantages is mostly in the occupancy of the English nation, to the injury and disadvantage of the Hon. the West India Company, which they continue to occupy, whereby the company is injured every year, it will be painful to us to recapitulate the subject, as the same is stated in the remon-

strance of the New-Netherlanders, where we leave the matter and pass to the East river.

Of the East River.

This river is thus named because it extends eastward from the city of New-Amsterdam. By some this river is held to be an arm of the sea, or a bay, because it is very wide in some places, and because both ends of the same are connected with and empty into the ocean. This subtilty notwithstanding, we adopt the common opinion, and hold it to be a river. Be it then a river or a bay, as men may please to name it, still it is one of the best, most fit, and most convenient places and most advantageous accommodations which a country can possess or desire, for the following reasons: Long Island, which is about forty miles in length, makes this river. The river, and most of the creeks, bays, and inlets joining the same, are navigable in winter and in summer without much danger. This river also affords a safe and convenient passage at all seasons to those who desire to sail east or west; and the same is most used, because the outside passage is more dangerous. Most of the English (of New-England) who wish to go south to Virginia, to South river, or to other southern places, pass through this river, which brings no small traffic and advantage to the city of New-Amsterdam. This also causes the English to frequent our harbours, to which they are invited for safety. Lastly, this river is famous on account of its convenient bays, inlets, havens, rivers, and creeks, on both sides, to wit, on the side of Long Island and on the side of the fast or main land. In the Netherlands, no such place is known. Of this and the other rivers of New-Netherlands, enough has been said, in our opinion, for this time and for our purpose.

Of the Formation, Soil, and Appearance of the Land.

We will now treat of the land, with its natural, superficial appearance, beginning with the formations of the earth. Near and along the sea-shores, the soil is light and sandy, with a mixture of clay, which enriches the land. The productions are different kinds of wood, various fruits and vegetables. Barrens and sterile heath land are not here. The whole country has a waving surface, and in some places high hills and

protruding mountains, particularly those named the Highlands, which is a place of high, connected mountain land, about three miles broad, extending in curved forms throughout the country; separated in some places, and then again connected. There also is much fine level land, intersected with brooks, affording pasturage of great length and breadth, but mostly along the rivers, and near the salt water side. Inland most of the country is waving, with hills which generally are not steep, but ascend gradually. We sometimes in travelling imperceptibly find ourselves on high, elevated situations, from which we overlook large portions of the country. The neighbouring eminence, the surrounding valleys, and the highest trees are overlooked, and again lost in the distant space. Here our attention is arrested in the beautiful landscape around us, here the painter can find rare and beautiful subjects for the employment of his pencil, and here also the huntsman is animated when he views the enchanting prospects presented to the eyes; on the hills, at the brooks and in the valleys, where the game abounds and where the deer are feeding, or gambolling or resting in the shades in full view.

The surface of the land generally is composed of a black soil intermixed with clay, about a foot or a foot and a half deep, in some places more, and in some less; below the stratum is white, reddish and yellow clay, which in some places is mixed with sand, and in others with gravel and stones. Here and there large rocks and stones appear on the surface. There are also hills of pure clay, but sand hills I have not seen, except near the sea-shore, which have been cast up or formed by the ocean. There also are very rocky places which our naturalists suppose abound in minerals. The mountains and highlands are in some places tillable and fertile, the soil being composed of clay intermixed with stone. Other parts are composed of rocks, of various colours, but all overgrown with wood, growing in the seams, rents, clefts, and ravines. Such are the aspects of the mountains, the hills and inland country. Near the rivers and water sides there are large extensive plains containing several hundred *morgens*;* in one place more and in another less, which are very convenient for plantations, villages, and towns. There also are brooklands and fresh and salt meadows; some so extensive that the eye cannot oversee the same. Those are good for pasturage and

* A *morgen* is somewhat less than two acres.

hay, although the same are overflowed by the spring tides, particularly near the seaboard. These meadows resemble the low and out lands of the Netherlands. Most of them could be dyked and cultivated. We also find meadow grounds far inland, which are all fresh and make good hayland. Where the meadows are boggy and wet, such failings are easily remedied by cutting and breaking the bogs in winter and letting off the water in the spring. There also would be much more meadow ground, but as the soil is natural for wood, and as the birds and the winds carry the seeds in every direction, hence those moist, low grounds are covered with timber and underwoods which we call cripple bushes. The situations are curious to behold where those lands are cleared and cultivated. They are wonderfully fertile, which, in short, is the general quality of such land, and of most of the places we have noticed. Thus we tender to the kind reader the fruitfulness of this land, subject to his own judgment. I admit that I am incompetent to describe the beauties, the grand and sublime works, wherewith Providence has diversified this land. Our opinions are formed by the eye alone, therefore we cannot do justice and give assurance to the heart.

Of the Fruit Trees brought over from the Netherlands.

The Netherland settlers, who are lovers of fruit, on observing that the climate was suitable to the production of fruit trees, have brought over and planted various kinds of apple and pear trees, which thrive well. Those also grow from the seeds, of which I have seen many, which, without grafting, bore delicious fruit in the sixth year. The stocks may also be grafted when the same are as large as thorns, which, being cut off near the root and grafted, are then set into the ground, when the graft also strikes root: otherwise the fruit is somewhat hard. But, in general, grafting is not as necessary here as in the Netherlands, for most of the fruit is good without it, which there would be harsh and sour or would not bear. The English have brought over the first quinces, and we have also brought over stocks and seeds which thrive well. Orchard cherries thrive well and produce large fruit. Spanish cherries, forerunners, morellæs, of every kind we have, as in the Netherlands; and the trees bear better, because the blossoms are not injured by the frosts. The peaches, which are sought after in the Nether-

lands, grow wonderfully well here. If a stone is put into the earth, it will spring in the same season, and grow so rapidly as to bear fruit in the fourth year, and the limbs are frequently broken by the weight of the peaches, which usually are very fine. We have also introduced morecotoons (a kind of peach), apricots, several sorts of the best plums, almonds, persimmons, cornelian cherries, figs, several sorts of currants, gooseberries, calissiens, and thorn apples; and we do not doubt but that the olive would thrive and be profitable, but we have them not. Although the land is full of many kinds of grapes, we still want settings of the best kinds from Germany, for the purpose of enabling our wine planters here to select the best kinds, and to propagate the same. In short, every kind of fruit which grows in the Netherlands is plenty already in the New-Netherlands, which have been introduced by the lovers of agriculture, and the fruits thrive better here, particularly such kinds as require a warmer climate.

Of the Flowers.

The flowers in general which the Netherlanders have introduced there are the white and red roses of different kinds, the cornelian roses, and stock roses; and those of which there were none before in the country, such as eglantine, several kinds of gillyflowers, jenoffelins, different varieties of fine tulips, crown imperials, white lilies, the lily frutularia, anemones, baredames, violets, marigolds, summer sots, &c. The clove tree has also been introduced; and there are several indigenous trees that bear handsome flowers, which are unknown in the Netherlands. We also find there some flowers of native growth, as, for instance, sunflowers, red and yellow lilies, mountain lilies, morning stars, red, white, and yellow maritoffles (a very sweet flower), several species of bell flowers, &c.; to which I have not given particular attention, but *amateurs* would hold them in high estimation, and make them widely known.

Of the Agricultural Productions.

The pursuit of agriculture is not heavy and expensive there, as it is in the Netherlands. First, because the fencing and enclosing of the land does not cost much; for, instead of the Netherlands dykes and ditches, they set up post and rail, or palisado fences, and, when new clearings are made, they com-

monly have fencing timber enough on the land to remove, which costs nothing but the labour, which is reasonably cheap to those who have their own hands, and without domestic labour very little can be effected. The land whereon there are few standing trees, and which has been grubbed and ploughed twice, we hold to be prepared for a crop of winter grain. For summer grain one ploughing is sufficient. If it is intended to sow the same field again with winter grain, then the stubble is ploughed in, and the land is sowed with wheat or rye, which in ordinary seasons will yield a fine crop.

I can affirm that during my residence of nine years in the country I have never seen land manured, and it is seldom done. The land is kept in order by tillage, which is often done to keep down weeds and brush, but for which it would have rest. Some persons (which I also hold to be good management), when their land becomes foul and weedy, break it up and sow the same with peas, because a crop of peas softens the land and makes it clean; but most of the land is too rich for peas, which when sown on the same grow so rank that the crop falls and rots on the land. Some of the land must be reduced by cropping it with wheat and barley, before it is proper to sow the same with peas. We have frequently seen the straw of wheat and barley grow so luxuriant that the crops yielded very little grain.

I deem it worthy of notice that with proper attention, in ordinary seasons, two ripe crops of peas can be raised on the same land in one season, in the New-Netherlands.* It has frequently been done in the following manner, viz. The first crop was sown in the last of March or first of April, which will ripen about the first of July; the crop is then removed, and the land ploughed, and sowed again with peas of the first crop. The second crop will ripen in September, or about the first of October, when the weather is still fine and warm. The same can also be done with buckwheat, which has frequently been proved; but the first crop is usually much injured by finches and other birds, and, as wheat and rye are plenty, therefore there is very little buckwheat sown. The maize (Indian corn) is carefully attended to, and is sufficient to the wants of the country.

The Turkey wheat, or maize, as the grain is named, many persons suppose to be the same kind of grain which Jesse sent parched by his son David to his other sons of the army of

Israel. This is a hardy grain, and is fit for the sustenance of man and animals. It is easily cultivated and will grow in almost every kind of land. . . . After a corn crop is gathered, the land may be sowed with winter grain in the fall without previous ploughing. When this is intended, the corn is gathered, the stalks are pulled up and burnt, the hills levelled, and the land sown and harrowed smooth and level. Good crops are raised in this manner. I have seen rye sown as before described, which grew so tall that a man of common size would bind the ears together above his head, which yielded seven and eight *schepels*,* Amsterdam measure, per *win* of 108 sheaves, of which two *wins* made a wagon load.

The Rev. Johannis Megapolensis, Junior, minister of the colony of Rensselaerwyck, in certain letters which he has written to his friends, which were printed (as he has told me) without his consent, but may be fully credited,—he being a man of truth and of great learning, who writes in a vigorous style,—states, with other matters, that a certain farmer had cropped one field with wheat eleven years in succession, which to many persons will seem extraordinary, and may not be credited. Still it is true, and the residents of the place testify to the same, and they add that this same land was ploughed but twelve times in the eleven seasons,—twice in the first year, and once in every succeeding year, when the stubble was ploughed in, the wheat sown and harrowed under. I owned land adjoining the land referred to, and have seen the eleventh crop, which was tolerably good. The man who did this is named Brandt Pelen; he was born in the district of Utrecht, and at the time was a magistrate (*schepen*) of the colony of Rensselaerwyck. We acknowledge that this relation appears to be marvellous, but in the country it is not so, for there are many thousand *morgens* of as good land there as the land of which we have spoken.

During the period when I resided in the New-Netherlands, a certain honorable gentleman, named John Everts Bout (who was recommended to the colonists by their High Mightinesses, &c.), laid a wager that he could raise a crop of barley on a field containing seven *morgens* of land, which would grow so tall in every part of the field that the ears could easily be tied together above his head. I went to see the field of barley, and found that the straw, land by land, was from six to seven feet

* A *schepel* is three pecks English.

high, and very little of it any shorter. It has also been stated to me as a fact that barley has frequently been raised, although not common, which yielded eleven *schepel*, Amsterdam measure, per *win* of 108 sheaves. Therefore, all persons who are acquainted with the New-Netherlands judge the country to be as well adapted for the cultivation of grain as any part of the world which is known to the Netherlanders, or is in their possession.

With the other productions of the land we must include tobacco, which is also cultivated in the country, and is, as well as the maize, well adapted to prepare the land for other agricultural purposes, which also, with proper attention, grows fine, and yields more profit. Not only myself, but hundreds of others, have raised tobacco the leaves of which were three-fourths of a yard long. The tobacco raised here is of different kind, but principally of the Virginia kind, from which it differs little in flavour, although the Virginia is the best. Still it does not differ so much in quality as in price. Next to the Virginia it will be the best; many persons esteem it better, and give it a preference. It is even probable that when the people extend the cultivation of the article, and more tobacco is planted, that it will gain more reputation and esteem. Many persons are of opinion that the defect in flavour arises from the newness of the land, and hasty cultivation, which will gradually be removed.

Barley grows well in the country, but it is not much needed. Cummin seed, canary seed, and the like, have been tried, and Commander Minuit testifies that those articles succeed well, but are not sought after. Flax and hemp will grow fine, but as the women do not spin much, and the Indians have hemp in abundance in the woods from which they make strong ropes and nets, for these reasons very little flax is raised; but the persons who do sow the seed find that the land is of the proper quality for such articles.

Of the Seasons.

The changes of the year, and the calculations of time, are observed as in the Netherlands; and although these countries differ much in their situations in south latitude, still they do not differ much in the temperature of cold and heat. But, to discriminate more accurately, it should be remarked that the win-

ters usually terminate with the month of February, at New-Amsterdam, which is the chief place and centre of the New-Netherlands. Then the spring or Lent-like weather begins. Some persons calculate from the 21st of March, new style, after which it seldom freezes, nor before this does it seldom summer; but at this season a change evidently begins. The fishes then leave the bottom ground, the buds begin to swell; the grass sprouts, and in some places the cattle are put to grass in March; in other situations they wait later, as the situations and soils vary. The horses and working cattle are not turned out to grass until May, when the grass is plenty everywhere. April is the proper month for gardening. Later the farmers should not sow summer grain, unless they are not ready; it may be done later, and still ripen.

Easterly winds and stormy weather are common in the spring, which then cause high tides; but they cannot produce high floods. The persons who desire to explore and view the country have the best opportunity in April and May. The grass and herbage at this season causes no inconvenience in the woods, and still there is grass enough for horses. The cold has not overcome the heat produced by the wood burnings, and the ground which has been burnt over is yet bare enough for inspection. The flowers are then in bloom, and the woods are fragrant with their perfume. In the middle of May, strawberries are always plenty in the fields, where they grow naturally; they are seldom planted in the gardens, but there, in warm situations, they are earlier. When the warm weather sets in, then vegetation springs rapidly. It is so rapid as to change the fields from nakedness to green in eight or ten days. There are no frosts in May, or they are very uncommon, as then it is summer. The winter grain is in full blossom. The summer may be said to begin in May, but it really is calculated from the first of June, and then the weather is frequently very warm, and there is seldom much rain. Still there are no extremes of wet and dry weather, and we may freely say that the summers are always better in the New-Netherlands than in Holland. . . .

Now when the summer progresses finely, the land rewards the labor of the husbandman; the flowers smile on his countenance; the fishes sport in their element, and the herds play in the fields, as if no reverses were to return. But the tobacco, and the fruit of the vines, come in in September. There is plenty here for man and the animal creation.

The days are not so long in summer, nor so short in winter, as they are in Holland. Their length in summer, and their shortness in winter, differ about an hour and a half. It is found that this difference in the length of the days causes no inconvenience; the days in summer are long and warm enough for those who are inclined to labour, and do it from necessity; and for those who seek diversion. The winters pass by without becoming tedious. The reasons for this, and the objections thereto, we leave to the learned, as we deem the subject not worthy of our inquiry. The received opinion on this subject is that the difference in the length of the days and nights arises from the difference of latitude of the New-Netherlands and Holland. The former lies nearer the equinoctial line, and nearer the centre of the globe. As they differ in length, so also they differ in twilight. When it is mid-day in Holland, it is morning in the New-Netherlands. On this subject there are also different opinions. Most men say that the New-Netherlands lay so much farther to the west that its situation causes this variation; others go further, and dispute the roundness of the globe. As the creation of the world is connected with this subject, which none will deny, and as the difference in the appearance of the eclipses supports the truth of the first position of the roundness of the globe, therefore the other position appears to be unsupported.

The autumns in the New-Netherlands are very fine, lovely, and agreeable; more delightful cannot be found on the earth; not only because the summer productions are gathered, and the earth is then yielding its surplusage, but also because the season is so well tempered with heat and cold as to appear like the month of May, except that on some mornings there will be frost, which by ten o'clock will be removed by the ascending sun. . . . In short the autumns in the New-Netherlands are as fine as the summers of Holland, and continue very long; for below the highlands, towards the sea-coast, the winter does not set in or freeze much before Christmas, the waters remaining open, the weather fine, and in many places the cattle grazing in the fields. Above the highlands, advancing northerly, the weather is colder, the fresh waters freeze, the stock is sheltered, the kitchens are provided, and all things are put in order for the winter. The fat oxen and swine are slaughtered. The wild geese, turkeys, and deer are at their best in this season, and easiest obtained, because of the cold, and because the

woods are now burnt over, and the brushwood and herbage out of the way. This is also the Indian hunting season, wherein such great numbers of deer are killed that a person who is uninformed of the vast extent of the country would imagine that all these animals would be destroyed in a short time. But the country is so extensive, and their subsistence so abundant, and the hunting being confined mostly to certain districts, therefore no diminution of the deer is observable. The Indians also affirm that before the arrival of the Christians, and before the small-pox broke out amongst them, they were ten times as numerous as they now are, and that their population had been melted down by this disease, whereof nine-tenths of them have died. That then, before the arrival of the Christians, many more deer were killed than there now are, without any perceptible decrease of their numbers.

We will now notice the winters of the New-Netherlands, which are different at different places. Above the highlands, towards Rensselaerwyck, and in the interior places extending towards New-England (which we still claim), there the winters are colder and last longer than at New-Amsterdam, and other places along the sea-coast, or on Long Island, and on the South river (Delaware). At the latter places, there seldom is any hard freezing weather before Christmas, and although there may be some cold nights, and trifling snows, still it does not amount to much, for during the day it is usually clear weather. But at Rensselaerwyck the winters begin earlier, as in 1645, when the North river closed on the 25th day of November, and remained frozen very late. Below the highlands and near the sea-coast, as has been observed, it never begins to freeze so early, but the cold weather usually keeps off until about Christmas, and frequently later, before the rivers are closed; and then they frequently are so full of drifting ice during the north-west winds as to obstruct the navigation; and, whenever the wind shifts to the south or south-east, the ice decays, and the rivers are open and clear. . . .

It is strange and worthy of observation, and surpasses all reasoning, that in the New-Netherlands, without or with but little wind (for when the weather is coldest, there seldom is much wind), although it lies in the latitude of Spain and Italy, and the summer heat is similar, that the winters should be so much colder as to render useless all the plants and herbs which grow in those countries, which will not endure the cold weather.

The winter weather is dry and cold, and we find that the peltries and feltings are prior and better than the furs of Muscovy. For this difference several reasons are assigned, which we will relate, without controverting any, except in remarking that in most cases wherein many different reasons are assigned to establish a subject, all are frequently discredited. Some say that the New-Netherlands lie so much further west on the globe, and that this causes the difference; others who compare the summer heat with Spain and Italy deny this position; others declare that the globe is not round, and that the country lies in a declining position from the sun. Others assert that the last discovered quarter of the world is larger than the other parts, and ask, if the world formerly was considered round, how that theory can be supported now, when about one-half is added to it? Some also say that the higher a country is situated, the colder it is. Now, say they, the New-Netherlands lie in a high westerly position; *ergo*, it must be cold there in winter, and as warm in summer. Many remark, and with much plausibility also, that the country extends northerly many hundred miles to the frozen ocean, and is accessible by Davis Straits (which by some is doubted), and that the land is intersected and studded by high mountains, and that the snow remains lying on them and in the valleys, and seldom thaws away entirely; and that when the wind blows from and over those cold regions, it brings cold with it. Receiving the cold from above and from beneath (both being cold), it must of course follow that the cold comes with the north-westerly winds. On the contrary, they say that, whenever the wind blows from the sea, if it be in the heat of the winter, then the weather becomes sultry and warm as in Lent. . . .

There is everywhere fuel in abundance, and to be obtained for the expense of cutting and procuring the same. The superabundance of this country is not equalled by any other in the world. The Indians do not clothe as we do, but frequently go half-naked and withstand the cold, in fashion, and fear it little. They are never overcome with the cold, or injured by it. In bitter cold weather, they will not pursue their customary pleasures, particularly the women and the children; for the men do not care so much for the cold days in winter as they do for the hot days in summer.

Washington Irving's services for American history and for the study of history among our people were scarcely less than his services for our general literature, in which field his is the first great name. The lives of Washington, Columbus, Mahomet, and Goldsmith, "The Conquest of Granada," the "Spanish Papers," and so much besides witness to the wide range of his historical activities; and everywhere—in Spain, in England, and at home—it is with the historian's eye that he looks upon the world. But above all other places New York was dear to him and is his debtor. Her early history most stirred his imagination from first to last, and it was fitting that his final home and his grave should be upon the banks of the Hudson whose legends he did most to vivify. His early work, "Diedrich Knickerbocker's History of New York," was a burlesque; but it had a great effect in awakening interest in the early period of New York history. Professor Jameson well surmises that "the great amount of work which the State government in the next generation did for the historical illustration of the Dutch period, through the researches of Mr. Brodhead in foreign archives, had this unhistorical little book for one of its principal causes." Irving himself says that at the time he wrote his humorous book few of his fellow-citizens were aware "that New York had ever been called New Amsterdam or had heard of the names of its early Dutch governors or cared a straw about their ancient Dutch progenitors."

"The main object of my work," says Irving, "had a bearing wide from the sober aim of history. It was to embody the traditions of our city in an amusing form; to illustrate its local humors, customs, and peculiarities; to clothe home scenes and places and familiar names with those imaginative and whimsical associations so seldom met with in our new country, but which live like charms and spells about the cities of the Old World, binding the heart of the native inhabitant to his home."

"When I find, after a lapse of nearly forty years," he wrote at Sunnyside in 1848, "this haphazard production of my youth still cherished among the descendants of the Dutch worthies, when I find its very name become a household word and used to give the home stamp to everything recommended for popular acceptance,—such as Knickerbocker societies, Knickerbocker insurance companies, Knickerbocker steamboats, Knickerbocker omnibuses, Knickerbocker bread, and Knickerbocker ice,—and when I find New Yorkers of Dutch descent priding themselves upon being 'genuine Knickerbockers,' I please myself with the persuasion that I have struck the right chord."

It will be remembered that when Diedrich Knickerbocker found his end approaching he disposed of his worldly affairs, leaving to the city library his Heidelberg Catechism and Adrian Van der Donck's famous account of the New Netherland, "by the use of which he had profited greatly in his second edition." Van der Donck's "Description of New Netherland" is the most important work which has come down to us describing New York in the early period; and the selection from it published in the present leaflet is given in connection with the Old South lecture on Irving as one of the best illustrations of the original documents among which Irving loved to delve.

"Jonker Adrian van der Donck, Doctor of Laws and advocate of the Supreme Court of Holland, has done more to give to his contemporaries a full knowledge of the country of his adoption than any other man. Sent

over in 1642 as Schout (sheriff) of the Patroons' Colony of Rensselaerwyck, he in 1647 left this service in consequence of a quarrel with the vice-director, and purchased from the Indians the colony of Colen Donck, now Yonkers (getting its name from his title), for which he received a patent in 1648." A controversy between Van der Donck and several other colonists and the government led to a "Remonstrance" published in Holland in 1650, doubtless the work of Van der Donck, which gives incidentally an account of New Netherland and matters relating to its history, of high value. A translation of this by Henry C. Murphy may be seen in the "New York Historical Collections," second series, ii. 251. The "Description of New Netherland" appeared in Amsterdam in 1655. A translation of the entire work by General Jeremiaah Johnson was published in the "New York Historical Society Collections," 1841. The description of the country, a large portion of which is given in the present leaflet, is followed by a long and important section on the Indians, and by a discourse between a patriot and a New Netherlander on the character of the new colony.

The best account of the original sources of information concerning New Netherland is that by Berthold Fernow in the critical notes appended to his chapter on New Netherland in the "Narrative and Critical History of the United States," vol. iv. The great series of volumes of "Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York" contains many papers illustrating this early period. Mrs. Martha J. Lamb's "History of the City of New York," and the "Memorial History of the City of New York," edited by James Grant Wilson, are very complete upon the Dutch period. There are many histories of the State of New York. A good account of them may be found in the appendix to Elbridge S. Brooks's "Story of New York," which is the best book for the young people. The excellent volume in the "American Commonwealths" series is by Ellis H. Roberts.

PUBLISHED BY
THE DIRECTORS OF THE OLD SOUTH WORK,
Old South Meeting-house, Boston, Mass.



Debate on The Suffrage in Congress.

FROM MADISON'S JOURNAL OF THE ^{U.S.} CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION, 1787.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 27.

In Convention,—Mr. RUTLEDGE moved to postpone the sixth Resolution, defining the powers of Congress, in order to take up the seventh and eighth, which involved the most fundamental points, the rules of suffrage in the two branches, which was agreed to, *nem. con.*

A question being proposed on the seventh Resolution, declaring that the suffrage in the first branch should be according to an equitable ratio,—

Mr. L. MARTIN contended at great length and with great eagerness that the General Government was meant merely to preserve the State Governments, not to govern individuals. That its powers ought to be kept within narrow limits. That, if too little power was given to it, more might be added; but that, if too much, it could never be resumed. That individuals, as such, have little to do but with their own States, that the General Government has no more to apprehend from the States composing the Union, while it pursues proper measures, than a government over individuals has to apprehend from its subjects. That to resort to the citizens at large for their sanction to a new government will be throwing them back into a state of nature; that the dissolution of the State Governments is involved in the nature of the process; that the people have no right to do this without the consent of those to whom they have delegated their power for State purposes. Through their tongues only they can speak, through their ears only can hear. That the States have shewn a good disposition to comply with

the acts of Congress, weak, contemptibly weak, as that body has been; and have failed through inability alone to comply. That the heaviness of the private debts and the waste of property during the war were the chief causes of this inability,—that he did not conceive the instances mentioned by Mr. MADISON of compacts between Virginia and Maryland, between Pennsylvania and New Jersey, or of troops raised by Massachusetts for defence against the rebels, to be violations of the Articles of Confederation. That an equal vote in each State was essential to the Federal idea, and was founded in justice and freedom, not merely in policy. That though the States may give up this right of sovereignty, yet they had not, and ought not. That the States, like individuals, were in a state of nature equally sovereign and free. In order to prove that individuals in a state of nature are equally free and independent, he read passages from Locke, Vattel, Lord Somers, Priestley. To prove that the case is the same with States till they surrender their equal sovereignty, he read other passages in Locke and Vattel, and also Rutherford. That the States, being equal, cannot treat or confederate so as to give up an equality of votes without giving up their liberty. That the propositions on the table were a system of slavery for ten States. That, as Virginia, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania have forty-two ninetieths of the votes, they can do as they please without a miraculous union of the other ten. That they will have nothing to do but to gain over one of the ten, to make them complete masters of the rest; that they can then appoint an Executive and Judiciary and Legislature for them as they please. That there was, and would continue, a natural predilection and partiality in men for their own States; that the States, particularly the smaller, would never allow a negative to be exercised over their laws; that no State in ratifying the Confederation had objected to the equality of votes; that the complaints at present ran not against this equality, but the want of power. That sixteen members from Virginia would be more likely to act in concert than a like number formed of members from different States. That, instead of a junction of the small States as a remedy, he thought a division of the large States would be more eligible. This was the substance of a speech which was continued more than three hours. He was too much exhausted, he said, to finish his remarks, and reminded the House that he should to-morrow resume them.

Adjourned.

THURSDAY, JUNE 28.

In Convention,— Mr. L. MARTIN resumed his discourse, contending that the General Government ought to be formed for the States, not for individuals; that, if the States were to have votes in proportion to their numbers of people, it would be the same thing whether their representatives were chosen by the legislatures or the people,—the smaller States would be equally enslaved. That, if the large States have the same interest with the smaller, as was urged, there could be no danger in giving them an equal vote,—they would not injure themselves, and they could not injure the large ones, on that supposition without injuring themselves; and, if the interests were not the same, the inequality of suffrage would be dangerous to the smaller States. That it will be in vain to propose any plan offensive to the rulers of the States, whose influence over the people will certainly prevent their adopting it. That the large States were weak at present in proportion to their extent, and could only be made formidable to the small ones by the weight of their votes. That, in case a dissolution of the Union should take place, the small States would have nothing to fear from their power; that, if, in such a case, the three great States should league themselves together, the other ten could do so, too; and that he had rather see partial confederacies take place than the plan on the table. This was the substance of the residue of his discourse, which was delivered with much diffuseness and considerable vehemence.

Mr. LANSING and Mr. DAYTON moved to strike out “not,” so that the seventh article might read “that the right of suffrage in the first branch ought to be according to the rule established by the Confederation.”

Mr. DAYTON expressed great anxiety that the question might not be put till to-morrow, Governor LIVINGSTON being kept away by indisposition, and the representation of New Jersey thereby suspended.

Mr. WILLIAMSON thought that, if any political truth could be grounded on mathematical demonstration, it was that, if the States were equally sovereign now, and parted with equal proportions of sovereignty, they would remain equally sovereign. He could not comprehend how the smaller States would be injured in the case, and wished some gentleman would vouchsafe a solution of it. He observed that the small

States, if they had a plurality of votes, would have an interest in throwing the burdens off their own shoulders on those of the large ones. He begged that the expected addition of new States from the westward might be taken into view. They would be small States, they would be poor States, they would be unable to pay in proportion to their numbers, their distance from market rendering the produce of their labor less valuable: they would consequently be tempted to combine for the purpose of laying burdens on commerce and consumption, which would fall with greater weight on the old States.

Mr. MADISON said he was much disposed to concur in any expedient, not inconsistent with fundamental principles, that could remove the difficulty concerning the rule of representation. But he could neither be convinced that the rule contended for was just, nor that it was necessary for the safety of the small States against the large States. That it was not just had been conceded by Mr. BREARLY and Mr. PATTERSON themselves. The expedient proposed by them was a new partition of the territory of the United States. The fallacy of the reasoning drawn from the equality of sovereign States in the formation of compacts lay in confounding mere treaties, in which were specified certain duties to which the parties were to be bound, and certain rules by which their subjects were to be reciprocally governed in their intercourse, with a compact by which an authority was created paramount to the parties, and making laws for the government of them. If France, England, and Spain were to enter into a treaty for the regulation of commerce, etc., with the Prince of Monaco, and four or five other of the smallest sovereigns of Europe, they would not hesitate to treat as equals, and to make the regulations perfectly reciprocal. Would the case be the same if a council were to be formed of deputies from each, with authority and discretion to raise money, levy troops, determine the value of coin, etc.? Would thirty or forty millions of people submit their fortunes into the hands of a few thousands? If they did, it would only prove that they expected more from the terror of their superior force than they feared from the selfishness of their feeble associates. Why are counties of the same States represented in proportion to their numbers? Is it because the representatives are chosen by the people themselves? So will be the representatives in the National Legislature. Is it because the larger have more at stake than the smaller? The

case will be the same with the larger and smaller States. Is it because the laws are to operate immediately on their persons and properties? The same is the case, in some degree, as the Articles of Confederation stand; the same will be the case, in a far greater degree, under the plan proposed to be substituted. In the cases of captures, of piracies, and of offences in a Federal army, the property and persons of individuals depend on the laws of Congress. By the plan proposed a complete power of taxation, the highest prerogative of supremacy, is proposed to be vested in the National Government. Many other powers are added which assimilate it to the government of individual States. The negative proposed on the State laws will make it an essential branch of the State Legislatures, and of course will require that it should be exercised by a body established on like principles with the branches of those Legislatures. That it is not necessary to secure the small States against the large ones, he conceived to be equally obvious. Was a combination of the large ones dreaded? This must arise either from some interest common to Virginia, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania, and distinguishing them from the other States, or from the mere circumstance of similarity of size. Did any such common interest exist? In point of situation they could not have been more effectually separated from each other by the most jealous citizen of the most jealous States. In point of manners, religion, and the other circumstances which sometimes beget affection between different communities, they were not more assimilated than the other States. In point of the staple productions, they were as dissimilar as any three other States in the Union. The staple of Massachusetts was *fish*, of Pennsylvania *flour*, of Virginia *tobacco*. Was a combination to be apprehended from the mere circumstance of equality of size? Experience suggested no such danger. The Journals of Congress did not present any peculiar association of these States in the votes recorded. It had never been seen that different counties in the same State, conformable in extent, but disagreeing in other circumstances, betrayed a propensity to such combinations. Experience rather taught a contrary lesson. Among individuals of superior eminence and weight in society, rivalships were much more frequent than coalitions. Among independent nations, pre-eminent over their neighbors, the same remark was verified. Carthage and Rome tore one another to pieces instead of

uniting their forces to devour the weaker nations of the earth. The Houses of Austria and France were hostile as long as they remained the greatest powers of Europe. England and France have succeeded to the pre-eminence and to the enmity. To this principle we owe, perhaps, our liberty. A coalition between those powers would have been fatal to us. Among the principal members of ancient and modern confederacies, we find the same effect from the same cause. The contentions, not the coalitions, of Sparta, Athens, and Thebes, proved fatal to the smaller members of the Amphictyonic confederacy. The contentions, not the combinations, of Russia and Austria have distracted and oppressed the German Empire. Were the large States formidable *singly* to their smaller neighbors? On this supposition the latter ought to wish for such a General Government as will operate with equal energy on the former as on themselves. The more lax the band, the more liberty the larger will have to avail themselves of their superior force. Here, again, experience was an instructive monitor. What is the situation of the weak compared with the strong, in those stages of civilization in which the violence of individuals is least controlled by an efficient government? The heroic period of ancient Greece, the feudal licentiousness of the Middle Ages of Europe, the existing condition of the American savages, answer this question. What is the situation of the minor sovereigns in the great society of independent nations, in which the more powerful are under no control but the nominal authority of the law of nations? Is not the danger to the former exactly in proportion to their weakness? But there are cases still more in point. What was the condition of the weaker members of the Amphictyonic Confederacy? Plutarch (see Life of Themistocles) will inform us that it happened but too often that the strongest cities corrupted and awed the weaker, and that judgment went in favor of the more powerful party. What is the condition of the lesser States in the German Confederacy? We all know that they are 'exceedingly trampled upon, and that they owe their safety, as far as they enjoy it, partly to their enlisting themselves under the rival banners of the pre-eminent members, partly to alliances with neighboring princes, which the constitution of the Empire does not prohibit. What is the state of things in the lax system of the Dutch confederacy? Holland contains about half the people, supplies about half the money, and by her influence silently and

indirectly governs the whole republic. In a word, the two extremes before us are a perfect separation and a perfect incorporation of the thirteen States. In the first case, they would be independent nations, subject to no law but the law of nations. In the last, they would be mere counties of one entire republic, subject to one common law. In the first case, the smaller States would have everything to fear from the larger. In the last, they would have nothing to fear. The true policy of the small States, therefore, lies in promoting those principles and that form of government which will most approximate the States to the condition of counties. Another consideration may be added. If the General Government be feeble, the larger States, distrusting its continuance, and foreseeing that their importance and security may depend on their own size and strength, will never submit to a partition. Give to the General Government sufficient energy and permanency, and you remove the objection. Gradual partitions of the large and junctions of the small States will be facilitated, and time may effect that equalization which is wished for by the small States now, but can never be accomplished at once.

Mr. WILSON.—The leading argument of those who contend for equality of votes among the States is that the States, as such, being equal, and being represented, not as districts of individuals, but in their political and corporate capacities, are entitled to an equality of suffrage. According to this mode of reasoning the representation of the boroughs in England, which has been allowed on all hands to be the rotten part of the Constitution, is perfectly right and proper. They are, like the States, represented in their corporate capacity: like the States, therefore, they are entitled to equal voices,—Old Sarum to as many as London. And, instead of the injury supposed hitherto to be done to London, the true ground of complaint lies with Old Sarum: for London instead of two, which is her proper share, sends four representatives to Parliament.

Mr. SHERMAN.—The question is, not what rights naturally belong to man, but how they may be most equally and effectually guarded in society. And, if some give up more than others, in order to obtain this end, there can be no room for complaint. To do otherwise, to require an equal concession from all, if it would create danger to the rights of some, would be sacrificing the end to the means. The rich man who enters into society along with the poor man gives up more than the

poor man, yet with an equal vote he is equally safe. Were he to have more votes than the poor man in proportion to his superior stake, the rights of the poor man would immediately cease to be secure. This consideration prevailed when the Articles of Confederation were formed.

The determination of the question for striking out the word "not" was put off till to-morrow, at the request of the deputies from New York.

Dr. FRANKLIN.—Mr. President, The small progress we have made after four or five weeks' close attendance and continual reasonings with each other,—our different sentiments on almost every question, several of the last producing as many noes as ayes,—is, methinks, a melancholy proof of the imperfection of the human understanding. We, indeed, seem to feel our own want of political wisdom since we have been running about in search of it. We have gone back to ancient history for models of government, and examined the different forms of those republics which, having been formed with the seeds of their own dissolution, now no longer exist. And we have viewed modern States all round Europe, but find none of their constitutions suitable to our circumstances.

In this situation of this Assembly, groping as it were in the dark to find political truth, and scarce able to distinguish it when presented to us, how has it happened, sir, that we have not hitherto once thought of humbly applying to the Father of lights, to illuminate our understandings? In the beginning of the contest with Great Britain, when we were sensible of danger, we had daily prayer in this room for the divine protection. Our prayers, sir, were heard; and they were graciously answered. All of us who were engaged in the struggle must have observed frequent instances of a superintending Providence in our favor. To that kind Providence we owe this happy opportunity of consulting in peace on the means of establishing our future national felicity. And have we now forgotten that powerful Friend? Or do we imagine that we no longer need his assistance? I have lived, sir, a long time; and, the longer I live, the more convincing proofs I see of this truth, — *that God governs in the affairs of men*. And, if a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without his notice, is it probable that an empire can rise without his aid? We have been assured, sir, in the sacred writings that "except the Lord build the house they labor in vain that build it." I firmly believe this;

and I also believe that without his concurring aid we shall succeed in this political building no better than the builders of Babel. We shall be divided by our little partial local interests, our projects will be confounded, and we ourselves shall become a reproach and byword down to future ages. And, what is worse, mankind may hereafter from this unfortunate instance despair of establishing governments by human wisdom, and leave it to chance, war, and conquest.

I therefore beg leave to move that henceforth prayers imploring the assistance of Heaven, and its blessings on our deliberations, be held in this Assembly every morning before we proceed to business, and that one or more of the clergy of this city be requested to officiate in that service.

Mr. SHERMAN seconded the motion.

Mr. HAMILTON and several others expressed their apprehensions that, however proper such a resolution might have been at the beginning of the Convention, it might at this late day, in the first place, bring on it some disagreeable animadversions, and in the second lead the public to believe that the embarrassments and dissensions within the Convention had suggested this measure. It was answered by Dr. FRANKLIN, Mr. SHERMAN, and others that the past omission of a duty could not justify a further omission, that the rejection of such a proposition would expose the Convention to more unpleasant animadversions than the adoption of it, and that the alarm out of doors that might be excited for the state of things within would at least be as likely to do good as ill.

Mr. WILLIAMSON observed that the true cause of the omission could not be mistaken. The Convention had no funds.

Mr. RANDOLPH proposed, in order to give a favorable aspect to the measure, that a sermon be preached at the request of the Convention on the Fourth of July, the anniversary of Independence ; and thenceforward prayers, etc., to be read in the Convention every morning. Dr. FRANKLIN seconded this motion. After several unsuccessful attempts for silently postponing this matter by adjourning, the adjournment was at length carried without any vote on the motion.

FRIDAY, JUNE 29.

In Convention.—Dr. JOHNSON. The controversy must be endless whilst gentlemen differ in the grounds of their argu-

ments,—those on one side considering the States as districts of people composing one political society, those on the other considering them as so many political societies. The fact is that the States do exist as political societies, and a government is to be formed for them in their political capacity as well as for the individuals composing them. , Does it not seem to follow that, if the States, as such, are to exist, they must be armed with some power of self-defence? This is the idea of Colonel MASON, who appears to have looked to the bottom of this matter. Besides the aristocratic and other interests, which ought to have the means of defending themselves, the States have their interests as such, and are equally entitled to like means. On the whole, he thought that, as in some respects the States are to be considered in their political capacity, and in others as districts of individual citizens, the two ideas embraced on different sides, instead of being opposed to each other, ought to be combined,—that in *one* branch the *people* ought to be represented, in the *other* the *States*.

Mr. GORHAM. The States, as now confederated, have no doubt a right to refuse to be consolidated or to be formed into any new system. But he wished the small States, which seemed most ready to object, to consider which are to give up most, they or the larger ones. He conceived that a rupture of the Union would be an event unhappy for all; but, surely, the large States would be least unable to take care of themselves, and to make connections with one another. The weak, therefore, were most interested in establishing some general system for maintaining order. If, among individuals composed partly of weak and partly of strong, the former most need the protection of law and government, the case is exactly the same with weak and powerful States. What would be the situation of Delaware (for these things he found must be spoken out, and it might as well be done at first as last), what would be the situation of Delaware in case of a separation of the States? Would she not be at the mercy of Pennsylvania? Would not her true interest lie in being consolidated with her; and ought she not now to wish for such a union with Pennsylvania, under one government, as will put it out of the power of Pennsylvania to oppress her? Nothing can be more ideal than the danger apprehended by the States from their being formed into one nation. Massachusetts was originally three colonies; namely, old Massachusetts, Plymouth, and the Province of Maine.

These apprehensions existed then. An incorporation took place: all parties were safe and satisfied, and every distinction is now forgotten. The case was similar with Connecticut and New Haven. The dread of union was reciprocal, the consequence of it equally salutary and satisfactory. In like manner, New Jersey has been made one society out of two parts. Should a separation of the States take place, the fate of New Jersey would be worst of all. She has no foreign commerce, and can have but little. Pennsylvania and New York will continue to levy taxes on her consumption. If she consults her interest, she would beg of all things to be annihilated. The apprehensions of the small States ought to be appeased by another reflection. Massachusetts will be divided. The Province of Maine is already considered as approaching the term of its annexation to it; and Pennsylvania will probably not increase, considering the present state of her population and other events that may happen. On the whole, he considered a union of the States as necessary to their happiness, and a firm General Government as necessary to their union. He should consider it his duty, if his colleagues viewed the matter in the same light he did, to stay here as long as any other State would remain with them, in order to agree on some plan that could with propriety be recommended to the people.

Mr. ELLSWORTH did not despair. He still trusted that some good plan of government would be devised and adopted.

Mr. READ. He should have no objection to the system if it were truly national, but it has too much of a federal mixture in it. The little States, he thought, had not much to fear. He suspected that the large States felt their want of energy, and wished for a General Government to supply the defect. Massachusetts was evidently laboring under her weakness, and he believed Delaware would not be in much danger if in her neighborhood. Delaware had enjoyed tranquillity, and he flattered himself would continue to do so. He was not, however, so selfish as not to wish for a good General Government. In order to obtain one, the whole States must be incorporated. If the States remain, the representatives of the large ones will stick together, and carry everything before them. The Executive, also, will be chosen under the influence of this partiality, and will betray it in his administration. These jealousies are inseparable from the scheme of leaving the States in existence. They must be done away. The ungranted lands also, which

have been assumed by particular States, must be given up. He repeated his approbation of the plan of Mr. HAMILTON, and wished it to be substituted for that on the table.

Mr. MADISON agreed with Dr. JOHNSON that the mixed nature of the government ought to be kept in view, but thought too much stress was laid on the rank of the States as political societies. There was a gradation, he observed, from the smallest corporation with the most limited powers to the largest empire with the most perfect sovereignty. He pointed out the limitations on the sovereignty of the States as now confederated. Their laws, in relation to the paramount law of the Confederacy, were analogous to that of by-laws to the supreme law within a State. Under the proposed government the powers of the States will be much farther reduced. According to the views of every member, the General Government will have powers far beyond those exercised by the British Parliament when the States were part of the British Empire. It will, in particular, have the power without the consent of the State Legislatures, to levy money directly from the people themselves ; and, therefore, not to divest such *unequal* portions of the people as composed the several States of an *equal* voice would subject the system to the reproaches and evils which have resulted from the vicious representation in Great Britain.

He entreated the gentlemen representing the small States to renounce a principle which was confessedly unjust, which could never be admitted, and which, if admitted, must infuse mortality into a Constitution which we wished to last forever. He prayed them to ponder well the consequences of suffering the Confederacy to go to pieces. It had been said that the want of energy in the large States would be a security to the small. It was forgotten that this want of energy proceeded from the supposed security of the States against all external danger. Let each State depend on itself for its security, and let apprehensions arise of danger from distant powers or from neighboring States, and the languishing condition of all the States, large as well as small, would soon be transformed into vigorous and high-toned governments. His great fear was that their governments would then have too much energy, that this might not only be formidable in the large to the small States, but fatal to the internal liberty of all. The same causes which have rendered the old world the theatre of incessant wars, and

have banished liberty from the face of it, would soon produce the same effects here. The weakness and jealousy of the small States would quickly introduce some regular military force against sudden danger from their powerful neighbors. The example would be followed by others, and would soon become universal. In time of actual war, great discretionary powers are constantly given to the Executive magistrate. Constant apprehension of war has the same tendency to render the head too large for the body. A standing military force, with an overgrown Executive, will not long be safe companions to liberty. The means of defence against foreign danger have been always the instruments of tyranny at home. Among the Romans it was a standing maxim, to excite a war whenever a revolt was apprehended. Throughout all Europe the armies kept up under the pretext of defending have enslaved the people. It is, perhaps, questionable whether the best concerted system of absolute power in Europe could maintain itself, in a situation where no alarms of external danger could tame the people to the domestic yoke. The insular situation of Great Britain was the principal cause of her being an exception to the general fate of Europe. It has rendered less defence necessary, and admitted a kind of defence which could not be used for the purpose of oppression. These consequences, he conceived, ought to be apprehended, whether the States should run into a total separation from each other or should enter into partial confederacies. Either event would be truly deplorable: and those who might be accessory to either could never be forgiven by their country nor by themselves.

Mr. HAMILTON observed that individuals forming political societies modify their rights differently with regard to suffrage. Examples of it are found in all the States. In all of them, some individuals are deprived of the right altogether, not having the requisite qualification of property. In some of the States the right of suffrage is allowed in some cases, and refused in others. To vote for a member in one branch, a certain quantum of property; to vote for a member in another branch of the legislature, a higher quantum of property is required. In like manner, States may modify their right of suffrage differently, the larger exercising a larger, the smaller a smaller share of it. But, as States are a collection of individual men, which ought we to respect most, the rights of the people composing them or of the artificial beings resulting

from the composition? Nothing could be more preposterous or absurd than to sacrifice the former to the latter. It has been said that, if the smaller States renounce their *equality*, they renounce at the same time their *liberty*. The truth is, it is a contest for power, not for liberty. Will the men composing the small States be less free than those composing the larger? The State of Delaware having forty thousand souls will lose *power* if she has one-tenth only of the votes allowed to Pennsylvania having four hundred thousand: but will the people of Delaware *be less free* if each citizen has an equal vote with each citizen of Pennsylvania? He admitted that common residence within the same State would produce a certain degree of attachment, and that this principle might have a certain influence on public affairs. He thought, however, that this might by some precautions be in a great measure excluded, and that no material inconvenience could result from it, as there could not be any ground for combination among the States whose influence was most dreaded. The only considerable distinction of interests lay between the carrying and non-carrying States, which divides instead of uniting the largest States. No considerable inconvenience had been found from the division of the State of New York into different districts of different sizes.

Some of the consequences of a dissolution of the Union and the establishment of partial confederacies had been pointed out. He would add another of a most serious nature. Alliances will immediately be formed with different rival and hostile nations of Europe, who will foment disturbances among ourselves, and make us parties to all their own quarrels. Foreign nations having American dominion are, and must be, jealous of us. Their representatives betray the utmost anxiety for our fate; and for the result of this meeting, which must have an essential influence on it. It had been said that respectability in the eyes of foreign nations was not the object at which we aimed, that the proper object of republican government was domestic tranquillity and happiness. This was an ideal distinction. No government could give us tranquillity and happiness at home which did not possess sufficient stability and strength to make us respectable abroad. This was the critical moment for forming such a government. We should run every risk in trusting to future amendments. As yet we retain the habits of union. We are weak, and sensible

of our weakness. Henceforward the motives will become feebler, and the difficulties greater. It is a miracle that we are now here exercising our tranquil and free deliberations on the subject. It would be madness to trust to future miracles. A thousand causes must obstruct a reproduction of them.

Mr. PIERCE considered the equality of votes under the Confederation as the great source of the public difficulties. The members of Congress were advocates for local advantages. State distinctions must be sacrificed as far as the general good required, but without destroying the States. Though from a small State, he felt himself a citizen of the United States.

Mr. GERRY urged that we were never independent States, were not such now, and never could be, even on the principles of the Confederation. The States and the advocates for them were intoxicated with the idea of their *sovereignty*. He was a member of Congress at the time the Federal Articles were formed. The injustice of allowing each State an equal vote was long insisted on. He voted for it; but it was against his judgment, and under the pressure of public danger, and the obstinacy of the lesser States. The present Confederation he considered as dissolving. The fate of the Union will be decided by the Convention. If they do not agree on something, few delegates will probably be appointed to Congress. If they do, Congress will probably be kept up till the new system should be adopted. He lamented that, instead of coming here like a band of brothers, belonging to the same family, we seemed to have brought with us the spirit of political negotiators.

Mr. L. MARTIN remarked that the language of the States being *sovereign and independent* was once familiar and understood, though it seemed now so strange and obscure. He read those passages in the Articles of Confederation which describe them in that language.

On the question, as moved by Mr. LANSING, shall the word "not" be struck out?—Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, aye,—4; Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, no,—6; Maryland, divided.

On the motion to agree to the clause as reported, "that the rule of suffrage in the first branch ought not to be according to that established by the Articles of the Confederation,"—Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Virginia, North Carolina, South

Carolina, Georgia, aye.—6; Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, no,—4; Maryland, divided.

Dr. JOHNSON and Mr. ELLSWORTH moved to postpone the residue of the clause, and take up the eighth Resolution.

On the question,—Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, aye,—9; Massachusetts, Delaware, no,—2.

Mr. ELLSWORTH moved “that the rule of suffrage in the second branch be the same with that established by the Articles of Confederation.” He was not sorry, on the whole, he said, that the vote just passed had determined against this rule in the first branch. He hoped it would become a ground of compromise with regard to the second branch. We were partly national, partly federal. The proportional representation in the first branch was conformable to the national principle, and would secure the large States against the small. An equality of voices was conformable to the federal principle, and was necessary to secure the small States against the large. He trusted that on this middle ground a compromise would take place. He did not see that it could on any other, and, if no compromise should take place, our meeting would not only be in vain, but worse than in vain. To the eastward, he was sure, Massachusetts was the only State that would listen to a proposition for excluding the States, as equal political societies, from an equal voice in both branches. The others would risk every consequence rather than part with so dear a right. An attempt to deprive them of it was at once cutting the body of America in two, and, as he supposed would be the case, somewhere about this part of it. The large States, he conceived, would, notwithstanding the equality of votes, have an influence that would maintain their superiority. Holland, as had been admitted (by Mr. MADISON), had, notwithstanding a like equality in the Dutch confederacy, a prevailing influence in the public measures. The power of self-defence was essential to the small States. Nature had given it to the smallest insect of the creation. He could never admit that there was no danger of combinations among the large States. They will, like individuals, find out and avail themselves of the advantage to be gained by it. It was true the danger would be greater if they were contiguous, and had a more immediate and common interest. A defensive combination of the small States was rendered more difficult by their greater number. He would

mention another consideration of great weight. The existing Confederation was founded on the equality of the States in the article of suffrage,—was it meant to pay no regard to this antecedent plighted faith. Let a strong Executive, a Judiciary, and Legislative power be created, but let not too much be attempted, by which all may be lost. He was not in general a half-way man, yet he preferred doing half the good we could rather than do nothing at all. The other half may be added when the necessity shall be more fully experienced.

Mr. BALDWIN could have wished that the powers of the general Legislature had been defined before the mode of constituting it had been agitated. He should vote against the motion of Mr. ELLSWORTH, though he did not like the Resolution as it stood in the Report of the Committee of the Whole. He thought the second branch ought to be the representation of property, and that, in forming it, therefore, some reference ought to be had to the relative wealth of their constituents, and to the principles on which the Senate of Massachusetts was constituted. He concurred with those who thought it would be impossible for the General Legislature to extend its cares to the local matters of the States.

Adjourned.

The curiosity I had felt during my researches into the history of the most distinguished confederacies, particularly those of antiquity, and the deficiency I found in the means of satisfying it, more especially in what related to the process, the principles, the reasons, and the anticipations which prevailed in the formation of them, determined me to preserve, as far as I could, an exact account of what might pass in the Convention whilst executing its trust, with the magnitude of which I was duly impressed, as I was by the gratification promised to future curiosity by an authentic exhibition of the objects, the opinions, and the reasonings from which the new system of government was to receive its peculiar structure and organization. Nor was I unaware of the value of such a contribution to the fund of materials for the history of a Constitution on which would be staked the happiness of a people great even in its infancy, and possibly the cause of liberty throughout the world.

In pursuance of the task I had assumed, I chose a seat in front of the presiding member, with the other members on my right and left hands. In this favorable position for hearing all that passed, I noted, in terms legible and in abbreviations and marks intelligible to myself, what was read from the Chair or spoken by the members; and, losing not a moment unnecessarily between the adjournment and reassembling of the Convention, I was enabled to write out my daily notes during the session, or within a few finishing days after its close, in the extent and form preserved in my own hand on my files.

In the labor and correctness of this I was not a little aided by practice, and by a familiarity with the style and the train of observation and reasoning which characterized the principal speakers. It happened, also, that I was not absent a single day, nor more than a casual fraction of an hour in any day, so that I could not have lost a single speech, unless a very short one.

It may be proper to remark that, with a very few exceptions, the speeches were neither furnished nor revised nor sanctioned by the speakers, but written out from my notes, aided by the freshness of my recollections. A further remark may be proper, that views of the subject might occasionally be presented, in the speeches and proceedings, with a latent reference to a compromise on some middle ground, by mutual concessions. The exceptions alluded to were: first, the sketch furnished by Mr. Randolph of his speech on the introduction of his propositions, on the twenty-ninth day of May; secondly, the speech of Mr. Hamilton, who happened to call on me when putting the last hand to it, and who acknowledged its fidelity, without suggesting more than a very few verbal alterations which were made; thirdly, the speech of Gouverneur Morris on the second day of May, which was communicated to him on a like occasion, and who acquiesced in it without even a verbal change. The correctness of his language and the distinctness of his enunciation were particularly favorable to a reporter. The speeches of Doctor Franklin, excepting a few brief ones, were copied from the written ones read to the Convention by his colleague, Mr. Wilson, it being inconvenient to the Doctor to remain long on his feet.

Of the ability and intelligence of those who composed the Convention the debates and proceedings may be a test, as the character of the work which was the offspring of their delibera-

tions must be tested by the experience of the future, added to that of nearly half a century which has passed.

But whatever may be the judgment pronounced on the competency of the architects of the Constitution, or whatever may be the destiny of the edifice prepared by them, I feel it a duty to express my profound and solemn conviction, derived from my intimate opportunity of observing and appreciating the views of the Convention, collectively and individually, that there never was an assembly of men, charged with a great and arduous trust, who were more pure in their motives, or more exclusively or anxiously devoted to the object committed to them, than were the members of the Federal Convention of 1787, to the object of devising and proposing a constitutional system which should best supply the defects of that which it was to replace, and best secure the permanent liberty and happiness of their country.—*From Madison's notes on the Constitutional Convention, written late in his life, published as an introduction to his Report of the Debates in the Convention.*

Bancroft's History of the United States concludes with the adoption of the Constitution. To the condition of the country in the time just preceding the Convention of 1787, to the Convention itself, to a careful study of the Constitution, and to the controversies ending in its adoption, Bancroft's final volume is devoted; and there is no more interesting volume of his history and no better popular account of the Convention and the Constitution.

Bancroft's drafts upon Madison in his chapters on the Convention are, of course, constant. Madison's services in connection with the framing of the Constitution were eminent. The Constitution bears the stamp of his hand more notably than that of any other. The student is referred to Fiske's "Critical Period of American History" for the best estimate of Madison's work in this connection. To Madison also we are indebted for the completest and only adequate report of the Convention. His own account of this report is given in the preceding extract from his notes, and the student is also referred to the general introduction to the "Madison Papers."

No debate in the Constitutional Convention was more important than that concerning the rules of suffrage in the two houses of Congress, because none involved more strikingly the conflicting principles of national sovereignty and state rights, whose reconciliation was the Convention's most difficult task. The present leaflet does not

give by any means the whole of this debate: but it gives enough to include strong and representative expressions of both views, and concludes with the speech of Ellsworth, which pointed the way to the compromise which was the ultimate solution. The leaflet will not accomplish its purpose, however, if it does not prompt the student to turn to Madison's pages for the continuation of the debate, or at least to Bancroft's faithful summary.

PUBLISHED BY
THE DIRECTORS OF THE OLD SOUTH WORK,
Old South Meeting-house, Boston, Mass.



Columbus's Memorial to Ferdinand and Isabella.

MEMORIAL OF THE RESULTS OF THE SECOND VOYAGE OF THE ADMIRAL, CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, TO THE INDIES, DRAWN UP BY HIM FOR THEIR HIGHNESSES KING FERDINAND AND QUEEN ISABELLA; AND ADDRESSED TO ANTONIO DE TORRES, FROM THE CITY OF ISABELLA, THE 30TH OF JANUARY, 1494. THE REPLY OF THEIR HIGHNESSES IS AFFIXED AT THE END OF EACH CHAPTER.*

Columbus, Christopher.

The report which you, Antonio de Torres, captain of the ship *Marigalante*, and Governor of the city of Isabella, have to make, on my behalf, to the King and Queen, our sovereigns, is as follows:—

Imprimis: after having delivered the credentials which you bear from me to their Highnesses, you will do homage in my name, and commend me to them as to my natural sovereigns, in whose service I desire to continue till death; and you will furthermore be able to lay before them all that you have yourself seen and known respecting me.

Their Highnesses accept and acknowledge the service.

Item. Although, by the letters which I have written to their Highnesses, as well as to Father Buil and to the Treasurer, a clear and comprehensive idea may be formed of all that has transpired since our arrival, you will, notwithstanding, inform their Highnesses, on my behalf, that God has been pleased to manifest such favor towards their service that not only has nothing hitherto occurred to diminish the importance of what I have formerly written or said to their Highnesses, but, on the contrary, I hope, by God's grace, shortly to prove it

* In the original the replies are affixed in the margin of each chapter (Navarete).

more clearly by facts, because we have found upon the sea-shore, without penetrating into the interior of the country, some spots showing so many indications of various spices as naturally to suggest the hope of the best results for the future. The same holds good with respect to the gold mines; for two parties only, who were sent out in different directions to discover them, and who, because they had few people with them, remained out but a short time, found, nevertheless, a great number of rivers whose sands contained this precious metal in such quantity that each man took up a sample of it in his hand, so that our two messengers returned so joyous, and boasted so much of the abundance of gold, that I feel a hesitation in speaking and writing of it to their Highnesses. But as Gorbalan, who was one of the persons who went on the discovery, is returning to Spain, he will be able to relate all that he has seen and observed; although there remains here another individual — named Hojeda, formerly servant of the Duke of Medinaceli, and a very discreet and painstaking youth — who without doubt discovered, beyond all comparison, more than the other, judging by the account which he gave of the rivers he had seen; for he reported, that each of them contained things that appeared incredible. It results from all this that their Highnesses ought to return thanks to God for the favor which He thus accords to all their Highnesses' enterprises.

Their Highnesses return thanks to God for all that is recorded, and regard as a very signal service all that the Admiral has already done, and is yet doing; for they are sensible that, under God, it is he who has procured for them their present and future possessions in these countries, and, as they are about to write to him on this subject more at length, they refer to their letter.

Item. You will repeat to their Highnesses what I have already written to them, that I should have ardently desired to have been able to send them, by this occasion, a larger quantity of gold than what they have any hope of our being able to collect, but that the greater part of the people we employed fell suddenly ill. Moreover, the departure of this present expedition could not be delayed any longer for two reasons, namely: on account of the heavy expense which their stay here occasioned; and because the weather was favorable for their departure, and for the return of those who should bring back the articles of which we stand in the most pressing need. If the former were to put off the time of their starting, and the latter

were to delay their departure, they would not be able to reach here by the month of May. Besides, if I wished now to undertake a journey to the rivers with those who are well,—whether with those who are at sea or those who are on land in the huts,—I should experience great difficulties, and even dangers, because, in traversing three or four and twenty leagues, where there are bays and rivers to pass, we should be obliged to carry, as provision for so long a journey, and for the time necessary for collecting the gold, many articles of food, etc., which could not be carried on our backs; and there are no beasts of burden to be found, to afford the necessary assistance. Moreover, the roads and passes are not in such a condition as I should wish for travelling over; but they have already begun to make them passable. It would be also extremely inconvenient to leave the sick men here in the open air, or in huts, with such food and defences as they have on shore; although these Indians appear every day to be more simple and harmless to those who land for the purpose of making investigations. In short, although they come every day to visit us, it would nevertheless be imprudent to risk the loss of our men and our provisions, which might very easily happen if an Indian were only, with a lighted coal, to set fire to the huts, for they ramble about both night and day. For this reason, we keep sentinels constantly on the watch while the dwellings are exposed and undefended.

He has done well.

Further, as we have remarked that the greatest part of those who have gone out to make discoveries have fallen sick on their return, and that some have even been obliged to abandon the undertaking in the middle of their journey, and return, it was equally to be feared that the same would occur to those who were at the time enjoying good health, if they were also to go. There were two evils to fear,—one the chance of falling ill in undertaking the same work, in a place where there were no houses nor any kind of protection, and of being exposed to the attacks of the cacique called Caonabo, who, by all accounts, is a badly-disposed man, and extremely daring, who, if he were to find us in a dispirited condition and sick, might venture upon what he would not dare to do if we were well. The other evil consisted in the difficulty of carrying the gold; for either we should have to carry it in small quantities, and go and return every day, and thus daily expose ourselves to the

chance of sickness, or we should have to send it under the escort of a party of our people, and equally run the risk of losing them.

He has done well.

These are the reasons, you will tell their Highnesses, why the departure of the expedition has not been delayed, and why only a sample of the gold is sent to them; but I trust in the mercy of God, who in all things and in every place has guided us hitherto, that all our men will be soon restored to health, as, indeed, they are already beginning to be, for they have but to try this country for a little time, and they speedily recover their health. One thing is certain, that, if they could have fresh meat, they would very quickly, by the help of God, be up and doing; and those who are most sickly would speedily recover. I hope that they may be restored. The small number of those who continue well are employed every day in barricading our dwelling, so as to put it in a state of defence, and in taking necessary measures for the safety of our ammunition, which will be finished now in a few days; for all our fortifications will consist simply of stone walls.* These precautions will be sufficient, as the Indians are not a people to be much afraid of; and, unless they should find us asleep, they would not dare to undertake any hostile movement against us, even if they should entertain the idea of so doing. The misfortune which happened to those who remained here must be attributed to their want of vigilance; for, however few they were in number, and however favorable the opportunities that the Indians may have had for doing what they did, they would never have ventured to do them any injury if they had only seen that they took proper precautions against an attack. As soon as this object is gained, I will undertake to go in search of these rivers, either proceeding hence by land, and looking out for the best expedients that may offer, or else by sea, rounding the island until we come to the place which is described as being only six or seven leagues from where these rivers that I speak of are situated, so that we may collect the gold in safety, and put it in security against all attacks in some stronghold or tower, which may be quickly built for that purpose; and thus, when the two caravels shall return thither, the gold may be taken away, and finally sent home in safety at the first favorable season for making the voyage.

This is well and exactly as he should do.

* *Albarrada*,— an Arabic word implying a stone wall without mortar.

Item. You will inform their Highnesses (as indeed has been already said) that the cause of the sickness so general among us is the change of air and water, for we find that all of us are affected, though few dangerously. Consequently, the preservation of the health of the people will depend, under God, on their being provided with the same food that they are accustomed to in Spain: neither those who are here now nor those that shall come will be in a position to be of service to their Highnesses unless they enjoy good health. We ought to have fresh supplies of provisions until the time that we may be able to gather a sufficient crop from what we shall have sown or planted here: I speak of wheat, barley, and grapes, towards the cultivation of which not much has been done this year, from our being unable earlier to choose a convenient settlement. When we had chosen it, the small number of laborers that were with us fell sick; and, even when they recovered, we had so few cattle, and those so lean and weak, that the utmost they could do was very little. However, they have sown a few plots of ground, for the sake of trying the soil, which seems excellent, in the hope of thereby obtaining some relief in our necessities. We are very confident, from what we can see, that wheat and grapes will grow very well in this country. We must, however, wait for the fruit; and, if it grows as quickly and well as the corn, in proportion to the number of vines that have been planted, we shall certainly not stand in need of Andalusia and Sicily here. There are also sugar-canes, of which the small quantity that we have planted has taken root. The beauty of the country in these islands—the mountains, the valleys, the streams, the fields watered by broad rivers—is such that there is no country on which the sun sheds his beams that can present a more charming appearance.

Since the land is so fertile, it is desirable to sow of all kinds as much as possible; and Don Juan de Fonseca is instructed to send over immediately everything requisite for that purpose.

Item. You will say that, as a large portion of the wine that we brought with us has run away, in consequence, as most of the men say, of the bad cooperage of the butts made at Seville, the article that we stand most in need of now, and shall stand in need of, is wine; and, although we have biscuit and corn for some time longer, it is nevertheless necessary that a reasonable quantity of these be sent to us, for the voyage is a long one, and it is impossible to make a calculation for every day. The same holds good with respect to pork and salt beef, which

should be better than what we brought out with us on this voyage. Sheep, and, still better, lambs and lambkins, more females than males, young calves and heifers also, are wanted, and should be sent by every caravel that may be despatched hither; and at the same time some asses, both male and female, and mares for labor and tillage, for here there are no beasts that a man can turn to any use. As I fear that their Highnesses may not be at Seville, and that their officers or ministers will not, without their express instructions, make any movement towards the carrying out of the necessary arrangements for the return voyage, and that, in the interval between the report and the reply, the favorable moment for the departure of the vessels which are to return hither (and which should be in all the month of May) may elapse, you will tell their Highnesses, as I charged and ordered you, that I have given strict orders that the gold that you carry with you be placed in the hands of some merchant in Seville, in order that he may therefrom disburse the sums necessary for loading the two caravels with wine, corn, and other articles detailed in this memorial; and this merchant shall convey or send the said gold to their Highnesses, that they may see it, receive it, and from it cause to be defrayed the expenses that may arise from the fitting-up and loading of the said two caravels. It is necessary, for the encouragement of the men who remain here, and for the support of their spirits, that an effort should be made to let the expedition arrive in the course of the month of May, so that before summer they may have the fresh provisions and other necessities, especially against sickness. We particularly stand in need of raisins, sugar, almonds, honey, and rice, of which we ought to have had a great quantity, but brought very little with us; and what we had is now consumed. The greater part of the medicines, also, that we brought from Spain are used up, so many of our number having been sick. For all these articles, both for those who are in good health and for the sick, you carry, as I have already said, memorials signed by my hand. You will execute my orders to the full if there be sufficient money wherewith to do so, or you will at least procure what is more immediately necessary, and which ought, consequently, to come as speedily as possible by the two vessels. As to the remainder, you will obtain their Highnesses' permission for their being sent by other vessels without loss of time.

Their Highnesses will give instructions to Don Juan de Fonseca

to make immediate inquiry respecting the imposition in the matter of the casks, in order that those who supplied them shall at their own expense make good the loss occasioned by the waste of the wine, together with the costs. He will have to see that sugar-canes of good quality be sent, and will immediately look to the despatch of the other articles herein required.

Item. You will tell their Highnesses that, as we have no interpreter through whom we can make these people acquainted with our holy faith, as their Highnesses and we ourselves desire, and as we will do so soon as we are able, we send by these two vessels some of these cannibal men and women, as well as some children, both male and female, whom their Highnesses might order to be placed under the care of the most competent persons to teach them the language. At the same time they might be employed in useful occupations, and by degrees, through somewhat more care being bestowed upon them than upon other slaves, they would learn one from the other. By not seeing or speaking to each other for a long time, they will learn much sooner in Spain than they will here, and become much better interpreters. We will, however, not fail to do what we can. It is true that, as there is but little communication between one of these islands and another, there is some difference in their mode of expressing themselves, which mainly depends on the distance between them. But, as amongst all these islands those inhabited by the cannibals are the largest and the most populous, it must be evident that nothing but good can come from sending to Spain men and women who may thus one day be led to abandon their barbarous custom of eating their fellow-creatures. By learning the Spanish language in Spain, they will much earlier receive baptism and advance the welfare of their souls. Moreover, we shall gain great credit with the Indians who do not practise the above-mentioned cruel custom, when they see that we have seized and led captive those who injure them, and whose very name alone fills them with horror. You will assure their Highnesses that our arrival in this country and the sight of so fine a fleet have produced the most imposing effect for the present, and promise great security hereafter; for all the inhabitants of this great island, and of the others, when they see the good treatment that we shall shew to those who do well, and the punishment that we shall inflict on those who do wrong, will hasten to submit, so that we shall be able to lay our commands on them as vassals of their Highnesses. And as even now they not

only readily comply with every wish that we express, but also of their own accord endeavor to do what they think will please us, I think that their Highnesses may feel assured that, on the other side also, the arrival of this fleet has in many respects secured for them, both for the present and the future, a wide renown amongst all Christian Princes; but they themselves will be able to form a much better judgment on this subject than it is in my power to give expression to.

Let him be informed of what has transpired respecting the cannibals that came over to Spain. He has done well, and let him do as he says; but let him endeavor by all possible means to convert them to our holy Catholic religion, and do the same with respect to the inhabitants of all the islands to which he may go.

Item. You will tell their Highnesses that the welfare of the souls of the said cannibals, and of the inhabitants of this island also, has suggested the thought that the greater the number that are sent over to Spain the better, and thus good service may result to their Highnesses in the following manner. Considering what great need we have of cattle and of beasts of burthen, both for food and to assist the settlers in this and all these islands, both for peopling the land and cultivating the soil, their Highnesses might authorize a suitable number of caravels to come here every year to bring over the said cattle and provisions and other articles. These cattle, etc., might be sold at moderate prices for account of the bearers; and the latter might be paid with slaves, taken from among the Caribbees, who are a wild people fit for any work, well proportioned and very intelligent, and who, when they have got rid of the cruel habits to which they have become accustomed, will be better than any other kind of slaves. When they are out of their country, they will forget their cruel customs; and it will be easy to obtain plenty of these savages by means of row-boats that we propose to build. It is taken for granted that each of the caravels sent by their Highnesses will have on board a confidential man, who will take care that the vessels do not stop anywhere else than here, where they are to unload and reload their vessels. Their Highnesses might fix duties on the slaves that may be taken over, upon their arrival in Spain. You will ask for a reply upon this point, and bring it to me, in order that I may be able to take the necessary measures, should the proposition merit the approbation of their Highnesses.

The consideration of this subject has been suspended for a time, until fresh advices arrive from the other side: let the Admiral write what he thinks upon the subject.

Item. You will also tell their Highnesses that freighting the ships by the ton, as the Flemish merchants do, will be more advantageous and less expensive than any other mode, and it is for this reason that I have given you instructions to freight in this manner the caravels that you have now to send off, and it will be well to adopt this plan with all the others that their Highnesses may send, provided it meets their approbation; but I do not mean to say that this measure should be applied to the vessels that shall come over licensed for the traffic of slaves.

Their Highnesses have given directions to Don Juan de Fonseca, to have the caravels freighted in the manner described, if it can be done.

Item. You will tell their Highnesses that, in order to save any extra expense, I have purchased the caravels mentioned in the memorial of which you are the bearer, in order to keep them here with the two vessels, the *Gallega* and the *Capitana*, of which, by advice of the pilot, its commander, I purchased the three-eighths for the price declared in the said memorial, signed by my hand. These vessels will not only give authority and great security to those who will have to remain on shore and whose duty it will be to make arrangements with the Indians for collecting the gold, but they will be also very useful to ward off any attack that may be made upon them by strangers. Moreover, the caravels will be required for the task of making the discovery of terra firma, and of the islands which lie scattered about in this vicinity. You will therefore beg their Highnesses to pay, at the term of credit arranged with the sellers, the sums which these vessels shall cost; for without doubt their Highnesses will be very soon reimbursed for what they may expend, at least such is my belief and hope in the mercy of God.

The Admiral has done well. You will tell him that the sum mentioned has been paid to the seller of the vessels, and that Don Juan de Fonseca has been ordered to pay the cost of the caravels purchased by the Admiral.

Item. You will speak to their Highnesses, and beseech them on my behalf, in the most humble manner possible, to be pleased to give mature reflection to the observations I may make, in letters or more detailed statements, with reference to the peacefulness, harmony, and good feeling of those who come hither, in order that for their Highnesses' service persons may be selected who will hold in view the purpose for

which these men are sent rather than their own interest; and, since you yourself have seen and are acquainted with these matters, you will speak to their Highnesses upon this subject, and will tell them the truth on every point exactly as you have understood it. You will also take care that the orders which their Highnesses shall give on this point be put into effect, if possible, by the first vessels, in order that no further injury occur here in the matters that affect their service.

Their Highnesses are well informed of all that takes place, and will see to it that everything is done as it should be.

Item. You will describe to their Highnesses the position of this city, the beauty of the province in which it is situated, as you have seen it, and as you can honestly speak of it; and you can inform them that, in virtue of the powers which I have received from them, I have made you governor of the said city; and you will tell them also that I humbly beseech them, out of consideration for your services, to receive your nomination favorably, which I sincerely hope they may do.

Their Highnesses are pleased to sanction your appointment as governor.

Item. As Messire Pedro Margarite, an officer of the household to their Highnesses, has done good service, and will, I hope, continue to do so for the future in all matters which may be intrusted to him, I have felt great pleasure in his continuing his stay in this country; and I have been much pleased to find that Gaspar and Beltran also remain, and, as they are all three well known to their Highnesses as faithful servants, I shall place them in posts or employments of trust. You will beg their Highnesses especially to have regard to the situation of the said Messire Pedro Margarite, who is married and the father of a family, and beseech them to give him some vacant command in the order of Santiago, of which he is a knight, in order that his wife and children may thus have a competence to live upon. You will also make mention of Juan Aguado, a servant of their Highnesses. You will inform them of the zeal and activity with which he has served them in all matters that have been intrusted to him, and also that I beseech their Highnesses on his behalf, as well as on behalf of those above mentioned, not to forget my recommendation, but to give it full consideration.

Their Highnesses grant an annual pension of thirty thousand maravedis to Messire Pedro Margarite, and pensions of fifteen thousand maravedis to Gaspard and Beltram, which will be reckoned

from this day, the 15th of August, 1494. They give orders that the said pensions be paid by the Admiral out of the sums to be paid in the Indies, and by Don Juan de Fonseca out of the sums to be paid in Spain. With respect to the matter of Juan Aguado their Highnesses will not be forgetful.

Item. You will inform their Highnesses of the continual labor that Doctor Chanca has undergone, from the prodigious number of sick and the scarcity of provisions, and that, in spite of all this, he exhibits the greatest zeal and kindness in everything that relates to his profession. As their Highnesses have intrusted me with the charge of fixing the salary that is to be paid to him while out here (although it is certain that he neither receives nor can receive anything from any one, and does not receive anything from his position, equal to what he did and could still do in Spain, where he lived peaceably and at ease, in a very different style from what he does here, and although he declares that he earned more in Spain, exclusive of the pay which he received from their Highnesses), I have, nevertheless, not ventured to place to the credit of his account more than fifty thousand maravedis per annum, as the sum which he is to receive for his yearly labor during the time of his stay in this country. I beg their Highnesses to give their sanction to this salary, exclusive of his maintenance while here; and I do so, because he asserts that all the medical men who attend their Highnesses in the royal yachts, or in any of their expeditions, are accustomed to receive by right the day's pay out of the annual salary of each individual. Let this be as it may, I am informed for certain that, on whatever service they are engaged, it is the custom to give them a certain fixed sum, settled at the will and by order of their Highnesses, as compensation for the said day's pay. You will, therefore, beg their Highnesses to decide this matter, as well with respect to the annual pay as to the above-mentioned usage, so that the said doctor may be reasonably satisfied.

Their Highnesses acknowledge the justice of Doctor Chanca's observations, and it is their wish that the Admiral shall pay him the sum which he has allowed him, exclusive of his fixed annual salary. With respect to the day's pay allowed to medical men, it is not the custom to authorize them to receive it, except when they are in personal attendance upon our Lord the King.

Item. You will tell their Highnesses what great devotion Coronel has shown to the service in many respects, and what great proofs he has given of it in every important matter that

has been trusted to him, and how much we feel his loss now that he is sick. You will represent to them how just it is that he should receive the recompense of such good and loyal services, not only in the favors which may hereafter be shown to him, but also in his present pay, in order that he and all those that are with us may see what profit will accrue to them from their zeal in the service, for the importance and difficulty of exploring the mines should call for great consideration towards those to whom such extensive interests are intrusted; and, as the talents of the said Coronel have made me determine upon appointing him principal constable of this portion of the Indies, and as his salary is left open, I beg their Highnesses to make it as liberal as may be in consideration of his services, and to confirm his nomination to the service which I have allotted to him by giving him an official appointment thereto.

Their Highnesses grant him, besides his salary, an annual pension of fifteen thousand maravedis, the same to be paid him at the same time as the said salary.

Item. You will at the same time tell their Highnesses that the bachelor, Gil Garcia, came out here in quality of principal alcalde, without having any salary fixed or allowed to him, that he is a good man, well informed, correct in his conduct, and very necessary to us; and that I beg their Highnesses to be pleased to appoint him a salary sufficient for his support, and that it be remitted to him together with his pay from the other side.

Their Highnesses grant him an annual pension of twenty thousand maravedis during his stay in the Indies, and that over and above his fixed appointments; and it is their order that this pension be paid to him at the same time as his salary.

Item. You will tell their Highnesses as I have already told them in writing, that I think it will be impossible to go this year to make discoveries until arrangements have been made to work the two rivers in which the gold has been found in the most profitable manner for their Highnesses' interest; and this may be done more effectively hereafter, because it is not a thing that every one can do to my satisfaction or with advantage to their Highnesses' service, unless I be present; for whatever is to be done always turns out best under the eye of the party interested.

It is the most necessary thing possible that he should strive to find the way to this gold.

Item. You will tell their Highnesses that the horse-soldiers

that came from Grenada to the review which took place at Seville offered good horses, but that at the time of their being sent on board they took advantage of my absence (for I was somewhat indisposed), and changed them for others, the best of which does not seem worth two thousand maravedis, for they sold the first and bought these; and this deception on the part of the horse-soldiers is very like what I have known to occur to many gentlemen in Seville of my acquaintance. It seems that Juan de Soria, after the price was paid, for some private interest of his own put other horses in the place of those that I expected to find; and, when I came to see them, there were horses there that had never been offered to me for sale. In all this the greatest dishonesty has been shown, so that I do not know whether I ought to complain of him alone, since these horse-soldiers have been paid their expenses up to the present day, besides their salary and the hire of their horses; and, when they are ill, they will not allow their horses to be used, because they are not present. It is not their Highnesses' wish that these horses should be purchased for anything but their Highnesses' service; but these men think they are only to be employed on work which requires them to ride on horseback, which is not the case at present. All these considerations lead me to think that it would be more convenient to buy their horses, which are worth but little, and thus avoid being exposed daily to new disputes. Finally, their Highnesses will decide on what plan is best for their own interests.

Their Highnesses order Don Juan de Fonseca to make inquiries respecting the matter of the horses, and, if it be true that such a deception has been practised, to send up the culprits to be punished as they deserve; also to gain information respecting the other people that the Admiral speaks of, and to send the result of the information to their Highnesses. With respect to the horse-soldiers, it is their Highnesses' wish and command that they continue where they are, and remain in service, because they belong to the guards and to the class of their Highnesses' servants. Their Highnesses also command the said horse-soldiers to give up their horses into the charge of the Admiral on all occasions when they shall be required; and, if the use of the horses should occasion any loss, their Highnesses direct that compensation shall be made for the amount of the injury, through the medium of the Admiral.

Item. You will mention to their Highnesses that more than two hundred persons have come here without fixed salaries, and that some of them are very useful to the service; and, in order to preserve system and uniformity, the others have been

ordered to imitate them. For the first three years it is desirable that we should have here a thousand men, in order to keep a safeguard upon the island and upon the rivers that supply the gold; and, even if we were able to mount a hundred men on horseback, so far from being an evil, it will be a very necessary thing for us. But their Highnesses might pass by the question of the horsemen until gold shall be sent. In short, their Highnesses should give instructions as to whether the two hundred people who have come over without pay should receive pay, like the others, if they do their work well; for we certainly have great need of them to commence our labors, as I have already shown.

It is their Highnesses' wish and command that the two hundred persons without pay shall replace such of those who are paid as have failed, or as shall hereafter fail, in their duty, provided they are fit for the service and please the Admiral; and their Highnesses order the Accomptant to enter their names in the place of those who shall fail in their duty, as the Admiral shall determine.

Item. As there are means of diminishing the expenses that these people occasion, by employing them as other Princes do, in industrial occupations, I think it would be well that all ships that come here should be ordered to bring, besides the ordinary stores and medicines, shoes, and leather for making shoes, shirts, both of common and superior quality, doublets, laces, some peasants' clothing, breeches, and cloth for making clothes, all at moderate prices. They might also bring other articles, such as conserves, which do not enter into the daily ration, yet are good for preserving health. The Spaniards that are here would always be happy to receive such articles as these in lieu of part of their pay; and, if they were purchased by men who were selected for their known loyalty, and who take an interest in the service of their Highnesses, considerable economy would result from this arrangement. Ascertain their Highnesses' pleasure on this head; and, if the plan be deemed expedient for the service, it should be put in practice at once.

This matter may rest for the present until the Admiral shall write more fully on the subject. Meanwhile Don Juan de Fonseca shall be ordered to instruct Don Ximenes de Bribiesca to make the necessary arrangements for the execution of the proposed plans.

Item. You will tell their Highnesses that, in a review that was holden yesterday, it was remarked that a great number of the people were without arms, which I think must be attributed

partly to the exchange made at Seville or in the harbor, when those who presented themselves armed were left for a while, and for a trifle exchanged their arms for others of an inferior quality. I think it would be desirable that two hundred cuirasses, a hundred arquebuses, a hundred arblasts, and many other articles of defensive armor, should be sent over to us; for we have great need of them to arm those who are at present without them.

Don Juan de Fonseca has already been written to, to provide them.

Item. Inasmuch as many married persons have come over here, and are engaged in regular duties, such as masons and other tradesmen, who have left their wives in Spain, and wish that the pay that falls due to them may be paid to their wives, or whomsoever they may appoint, in order that they may purchase for them such articles as they may need, I therefore beseech their Highnesses to take such measures as they may deem expedient on this subject; for it is of importance to their interests that these people be well provided for.

Their Highnesses have already ordered Don Juan de Fonseca to attend to this matter.

Item. Besides the other articles which I have begged from their Highnesses in the memorial which you bear, signed by my hand, and which articles consist of provisions and other stores, both for those who are well and for those who are sick, it would be very serviceable that fifty pipes of molasses should be sent hither from the island of Madeira; for it is the most nutritious food in the world, and the most wholesome. A pipe of it does not ordinarily cost more than two ducats, exclusive of the casks; and, if their Highnesses would order one of the caravels to call at the said island on the return voyage, the purchase might be made, and they might at the same time buy ten casks of sugar, of which we stand greatly in need. It is the most favorable season of the year to obtain it at a cheap rate; that is to say, between this and the month of April. The necessary orders might be given if their Highnesses think proper, and yet the place of destination be carefully concealed.

Don Juan de Fonseca will see to it.

Item. You will tell their Highnesses that, although the rivers contain in their beds the quantity of gold described by those who have seen it, there is no doubt that the gold is produced not in the rivers, but the earth, and that the water, happening to come in contact with the mines, washes it away, mingled with the sand. And, as among the great number of

rivers that have been already discovered there are some of considerable magnitude, there are also some so small that they might rather be called brooks than rivers, only two fingers' breadth deep, and very short in their course. There will, therefore, be some men wanted to wash the gold from the sand, and others to dig it out of the earth. This latter operation will be the principal and the most productive. It will be expedient, therefore, that their Highnesses send men, both for the washing and for the mining, from among those who are employed in Spain in the mines at Almaden,* so that the work may be done in both manners. We shall not, however, wait for the arrival of these workmen, but hope, with the aid of God and with the washers that we have here with us, when they shall be restored to health, to send a good quantity of gold by the first caravels that shall leave for Spain.

This shall be completely provided for in the next voyage out. Meanwhile Don Juan de Fonseca has their Highnesses' orders to send as many miners as he can find. Their Highnesses write also to Almaden, with instructions to select the greatest number that can be procured, and to send them up.

Item. You will beseech their Highnesses very humbly in my name to be pleased to pay regard to my strong recommendation of Villacorta, who, as their Highnesses are aware, has been extremely useful, and has shown the greatest possible zeal in this affair. As I know him to be a zealous man and well disposed to their Highnesses' service, I shall take it as a favor if they will deign to grant him some post of trust adapted to his qualifications, and in which he might give proof of his industry and warm desire to serve their Highnesses; and you will manage that Villacorta shall have practical evidence that the work which he has done for me, and in which I found him needful to me, has been of some profit to him.

This shall be done as he wishes.

Item. That the said Messire Pedro, Gaspar, Beltran, and others remaining here came out in command of caravels which have now gone back, and are in receipt of no salary whatever; but, as these are people who should be employed in the most important and confidential positions, their pay has not been fixed, because it ought to be different from that of the rest. You will beg their Highnesses, therefore, on my behalf, to settle what ought to be given them, either yearly or monthly, for the advantage of their Highnesses' service.

* In La Mancha, New Castile, famous for mines of quicksilver.

Given in the city of Isabella, the thirtieth of January, in the year fourteen hundred and ninety-four.

This point has been already replied to above; but, as in the said clause he says that they should receive their pay, it is now their Highnesses' command that their salary shall be paid to them from the time that they gave up their command.

“Surely no subject could be found more suitable for the pen of an American than a history of that reign under the auspices of which the existence of his own favored quarter of the globe was first revealed.” So wrote Prescott with reference to his “History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella,” the first in that great series of histories relating so largely to the Spanish conquest and occupation of America. The student can be referred to no better quarter for a view of the European circumstances amid which the New World was discovered. In the second volume of this work (chap. xii.) is the following passage touching the second voyage of Columbus, to which the memorial here printed relates: —

“The reader will turn with satisfaction from the melancholy and mortifying details of superstition to the generous efforts which the Spanish government was making to enlarge the limits of science and dominion in the West. ‘Amidst the storms and troubles of Italy, Spain was every day stretching her wings over a wider sweep of empire, and extending the glory of her name to the far Antipodes.’ Such is the swell of exultation with which the enthusiastic Italian, Martyr, notices the brilliant progress of discovery under his illustrious countryman Columbus. The Spanish sovereigns had never lost sight of the new domain, so unexpectedly opened to them, as it were, from the depths of the ocean. The first accounts transmitted by the great navigator and his companions on his second voyage, while their imaginations were warm with the beauty and novelty of the scenes which met their eyes in the New World, served to keep alive the tone of excitement which their unexpected successes had kindled in the nation. The various specimens sent home in the return ships, of the products of these unknown regions, confirmed the agreeable belief that they formed part of the great Asiatic continent, which had so long excited the cupidity of Europeans. The Spanish court, sharing in the general enthusiasm, endeavored to promote the spirit of discovery and colonization by forwarding the requisite sup-

plies and complying promptly with the most minute suggestions of Columbus. But in less than two years from the commencement of his second voyage the face of things experienced a melancholy change. Accounts were received at home of the most alarming discontent and disaffection in the colony; while the actual returns from these vaunted regions were so scanty as to bear no proportion to the expenses of the expedition.

“This unfortunate result was in a great measure imputable to the misconduct of the colonists themselves. Most of them were adventurers, who had embarked with no other expectation than that of getting together a fortune as speedily as possible in the golden Indies. They were without subordination, patience, industry, or any of the regular habits demanded for success in such an enterprise. As soon as they had launched from their native shore, they seemed to feel themselves released from the constraints of all law. They harbored jealousy and distrust of the admiral as a foreigner. The cavaliers and hidalgos, of whom there were too many in the expedition, contemned him as an upstart whom it was derogatory to obey. From the first moment of their landing in Hispaniola they indulged the most wanton license in regard to the unoffending natives, who in the simplicity of their hearts had received the white men as messengers from Heaven. Their outrages, however, soon provoked a general resistance, which led to such a war of extermination that in less than four years after the Spaniards had set foot on the island one-third of its population, amounting, probably, to several hundred thousands, were sacrificed! Such were the melancholy auspices under which the intercourse was opened between the civilized white man and the simple natives of the Western world.

“These excesses and a total neglect of agriculture — for none would condescend to turn up the earth for any other object than the gold they could find in it — at length occasioned an alarming scarcity of provisions; while the poor Indians neglected their usual husbandry, being willing to starve themselves so that they could starve out their oppressors. In order to avoid the famine which menaced his little colony, Columbus was obliged to resort to coercive measures, shortening the allowance of food, and compelling all to work, without distinction of rank. These unpalatable regulations soon bred general discontent. The high-mettled hidalgos, especially, complained loudly of the indignity of such mechanical drudgery, while Father Boil and his brethren were equally outraged by the diminution of their regular rations.

"The Spanish sovereigns were now daily assailed with complaints of the mal-administration of Columbus, and of his impolitic and unjust severities to both Spaniards and natives. They lent, however, an unwilling ear to these vague accusations; they fully appreciated the difficulties of his situation; and, although they sent out an agent to inquire into the nature of the troubles which threatened the existence of the colony, they were careful to select an individual who they thought would be most grateful to the admiral; and, when the latter in the following year, 1496, returned to Spain, they received him with the most ample acknowledgments of regard. 'Come to us,' they said, in a kind letter of congratulation addressed to him soon after his arrival, 'when you can do it without inconvenience to yourself; for you have endured too many vexations already.'

"The admiral brought with him, as before, such samples of the productions of the Western hemisphere as would strike the public eye, and keep alive the feeling of curiosity. On his journey through Andalusia he passed some days under the hospitable roof of the good curate, Bernaldez, who dwells with much satisfaction on the remarkable appearance of the Indian chiefs, following in the admiral's train, gorgeously decorated with golden collars and coronets, and various barbaric ornaments. Among these he particularly notices certain 'belts and masks of cotton and of wood, with figures of the devil-embroidered and carved thereon, sometimes in his own proper likeness, and at others in *that of a cat or an owl*. There is much reason,' he infers, 'to believe that he appears to the islanders in this guise, and that they are all idolaters, having Satan for their lord!'

"But neither the attractions of the spectacle, nor the glowing representations of Columbus, who fancied he had discovered in the mines of Hispaniola the golden quarries of Ophir, from which King Solomon had enriched the temple of Jerusalem, could rekindle the dormant enthusiasm of the nation. The novelty of the thing had passed. They heard a different tale, moreover, from the other voyagers, whose wan and sallow visages provoked the bitter jest that they had returned with more gold in their faces than in their pockets. In short, the scepticism of the public seemed now quite in proportion to its former overweening confidence; and the returns were so meagre, says Bernaldez, 'that it was very generally believed there was little or no gold in the island.'

'Isabella was far from participating in this unreasonable distrust. She had espoused the theory of Columbus when others looked coldly or contemptuously on it. She firmly relied on his repeated assurances that the track of discovery would lead to other and more important regions. She formed a higher estimate, moreover, of the value of the new acquisitions than any founded on the actual proceeds in gold and silver, keeping ever in view, as her letters and instructions abundantly show, the glorious purpose of introducing the

blessings of Christian civilization among the heathen. She entertained a deep sense of the merits of Columbus, to whose serious and elevated character her own bore much resemblance; although the enthusiasm which distinguished each was naturally tempered in hers with somewhat more of benignity and discretion."

There is a great wealth of original material relating to the life and voyages of Columbus. The great discoverer was himself a voluminous writer. Ninety-seven pieces of writing by him — memoirs, relations, or letters — exist or are known to have existed. Sixty-four of these writings we possess in their entirety, including twenty-three in his own handwriting, all of which have been published. The completest accounts of these various writings are those by Justin Winsor in the first chapter of his book on Columbus and in the "Narrative and Critical History of America," vol. ii.

Of the famous first voyage we have at least three accounts by Columbus himself: the letter to Santangel, which may be found in English in Major's "Select Letters of Columbus"; the abridgment by Las Casas from the journal of Columbus, of which there is an English translation by Samuel Kettell; and the letter to Gabriel Sanchez, given in the Old South Leaflets, No. 33. Hardly inferior in importance, considering its sources, is the account in the Life of Columbus by his son, Ferdinand Columbus, reprinted in the Old South Leaflets, No. 29.

The memorial to Ferdinand and Isabella, reprinted in the present leaflet from the English translation in Major's "Select Letters of Columbus," is one of the two important original documents illustrating the second voyage, the other being the narrative by Dr. Chanca, the physician of the colony, which is also given in Major's volume. Columbus's memorial to the king and queen was sent from the new "city" of Isabella, which he had founded on the island of Hayti. It is dated Jan. 30, 1494, and has come down to us just as it was read by the king and queen, with their comments and orders entered in the margins. The circumstances under which the memorial was written are well described by Winsor (Life of Columbus, chap. xii), who, at this point, is most severe upon Columbus as showing himself in this letter "the man who was ambitious to become the first slave-driver of the New World." The letter is valuable as a revelation of the time when Columbus and his companions were most strongly dominated by the thirst for gold, a motive which played so controlling a part throughout the efforts of Spain to obtain a foothold in the New World. For other views of Columbus at this period the student is referred to Irving's Life of Columbus and Fiske's "Discovery of America."

PUBLISHED BY
THE DIRECTORS OF THE OLD SOUTH WORK,
Old South Meeting-house, Boston, Mass.



The Dutch Declaration of Independence.

THE DECLARATION OF THE STATES GENERAL OF THE UNITED PROVINCES, SETTING FORTH THAT PHILIP THE SECOND HAD FORFEITED HIS RIGHT OF SOVEREIGNTY OVER THE SAID PROVINCES. AT THE HAGUE, 26 JULY, 1581.

*Netherlands (United Provinces, 1581-1795)
Staten Generaal*

*The States General of the United Provinces of the Low Countries,
to all whom it may concern, do by these Presents send greet-
ing:*

As 'tis apparent to all that a prince is constituted by God to be ruler of a people, to defend them from oppression and violence as the shepherd his sheep; and whereas God did not create the people slaves to their prince, to obey his commands, whether right or wrong, but rather the prince for the sake of the subjects (without which he could be no prince), to govern them according to equity, to love and support them as a father his children or a shepherd his flock, and even at the hazard of life to defend and preserve them. And when he does not behave thus, but, on the contrary, oppresses them, seeking opportunities to infringe their ancient customs and privileges, exacting from them slavish compliance, then he is no longer a prince, but a tyrant, and the subjects are to consider him in no other view. And particularly when this is done deliberately, unauthorized by the States, they may not only disallow his authority, but legally proceed to the choice of another prince for their defence. This is the only method left for subjects whose humble petitions and remonstrances could never soften their prince or dissuade him from his tyrannical proceedings; and this is what the law of nature dictates for the defence of liberty, which we ought to transmit to posterity, even at the hazard of our lives. And this we have seen done

frequently in several countries upon the like occasion, whereof there are notorious instances, and more justifiable in our land, which has been always governed according to their ancient privileges, which are expressed in the oath taken by the prince at his admission to the government ; for most of the Provinces receive their prince upon certain conditions, which he swears to maintain, which, if the prince violates, he is no longer sovereign. Now thus it was with the king of Spain after the demise of the emperor, his father, Charles the Fifth, of glorious memory (of whom he received all these Provinces), forgetting the services done by the subjects of these countries, both to his father and himself, by whose valor he got so glorious and memorable victories over his enemies that his name and power became famous and dreaded over all the world, forgetting also the advice of his said imperial majesty, made to him before to the contrary, did rather hearken to the counsel of those Spaniards about him, who had conceived a secret hatred to this land and to its liberty, because they could not enjoy posts of honor and high employments here under the States as in Naples, Sicily, Milan, and the Indies, and other countries under the king's dominion. Thus allured by the riches of the said Provinces, wherewith many of them were well acquainted, the said counsellors, I say, or the principal of them, frequently remonstrated to the king that it was more for his majesty's reputation and grandeur to subdue the Low Countries a second time, and to make himself absolute (by which they mean to tyrannize at pleasure), than to govern according to the restrictions he had accepted, and at his admission sworn to observe. From that time forward the king of Spain, following these evil counsellors, sought by all means possible to reduce this country (stripping them of their ancient privileges) to slavery, under the government of Spaniards having first, under the mask of religion, endeavored to settle new bishops in the largest and principal cities, endowing and incorporating them with the richest abbeys, assigning to each bishop nine canons to assist him as counsellors, three whereof should superintend the inquisition. By this incorporation the said bishops (who might be strangers as well as natives) would have had the first place and vote in the assembly of the States, and always the prince's creatures at devotion ; and by the addition of the said canons he would have introduced the Spanish inquisition, which has been always as dreadful and detested in these Provinces as the

worst of slavery, as is well known, in so much that his imperial majesty, having once before proposed it to these States, and upon whose remonstrances did desist, and entirely gave it up, hereby giving proof of the great affection he had for his subjects. But, notwithstanding the many remonstrances made to the king both by the Provinces and particular towns, in writing as well as by some principal lords by word of mouth; and, namely, by the Baron of Montigny and Earl of Egmont, who with the approbation of the Duchess of Parma, then governess of the Low Countries, by the advice of the council of State were sent several times to Spain upon this affair. And, although the king had by fair words given them grounds to hope that their request should be complied with, yet by his letters he ordered the contrary, soon after expressly commanding, upon pain of his displeasure, to admit the new bishops immediately, and put them in possession of their bishopricks and incorporated abbeys, to hold the court of the inquisition in the places where it had been before, to obey and follow the decrees and ordinances of the Council of Trent, which in many articles are destructive of the privileges of the country. This being come to the knowledge of the people gave just occasion to great uneasiness and clamor among them, and lessened that good affection they had always borne toward the king and his predecessors. And, especially, seeing that he did not only seek to tyrannize over their persons and estates, but also over their consciences, for which they believed themselves accountable to God only. Upon this occasion the chief of the nobility in compassion to the poor people, in the year 1566, exhibited a certain remonstrance in form of a petition, humbly praying, in order to appease them and prevent public disturbances, that it would please his majesty (by shewing that clemency due from a good prince to his people) to soften the said points, and especially with regard to the rigorous inquisition, and capital punishments for matters of religion. And to inform the king of this affair in a more solemn manner, and to represent to him how necessary it was for the peace and prosperity of the public to remove the foresaid innovations, and moderate the severity of his declarations published concerning divine worship, the Marquis de Berghen, and the aforesaid Baron of Montigny had been sent, at the request of the said lady regent, council of state, and of the States-General as ambassadors to Spain, where the king, instead of giving them audience, and redress the grievances they

had complained of (which for want of a timely remedy did always appear in their evil consequences among the common people), did, by the advice of Spanish council, declare all those who were concerned in preparing the said remonstrance to be rebels, and guilty of high treason, and to be punished with death, and confiscation of their estates; and, what's more (thinking himself well assured of reducing these countries under absolute tyranny by the army of the Duke of Alva), did soon after imprison and put to death the said lords the ambassadors, and confiscated their estates, contrary to the law of nations, which has been always religiously observed even among the most tyrannic and barbarous princes. And, although the said disturbances, which in the year 1566 happened on the fore-mentioned occasion, were now appeased by the governess and her ministers, and many friends to liberty were either banished or subdued, in so much that the king had not any shew of reason to use arms and violences, and further oppress this country, yet for these causes and reasons, long time before sought by the council of Spain (as appears by intercepted letters from the Spanish ambassador, Alana, then in France, writ to the Duchess of Parma), to annul all the privileges of this country, and govern it tyrannically at pleasure as in the Indies; and in their new conquests he has, at the instigation of the council of Spain (shewing the little regard he had for his people, so contrary to the duty which a good prince owes to his subjects), sent the Duke of Alva with a powerful army to oppress this land, who for his inhumane cruelties is looked upon as one of its greatest enemies, accompanied with counsellors too like himself. And, although he came in without the least opposition, and was received by the poor subjects with all marks of honor and respects, as expecting no less from him than tenderness and clemency, which the king had often hypocritically promised in his letters, and that himself intended to come in person to give orders to their general satisfaction, having since the departure of the Duke of Alva equipped a fleet to carry him from Spain, and another in Zealand to come to meet him at the great expense of the country, the better to deceive his subjects, and allure them into the toils, nevertheless the said duke, immediately after his arrival (though a stranger, and no way related to the royal family), declared that he had a captain-general's commission, and soon after that of governor of these Provinces, contrary to all its ancient customs

and privileges; and, the more to manifest his designs, he immediately garrisons the principal towns and castles, and caused fortresses and citadels to be built in the great cities to awe them into subjection, and very courteously sent for the chief nobility in the king's name, under pretence of taking their advice, and to employ them in the service of their country. And those who believed his letters were seized and carried out of Brabant, contrary to law, where they were imprisoned and prosecuted as criminals before him who had no right, nor could be a competent judge; and at last he, without hearing their defence at large, sentenced them to death, which was publicly and ignominiously executed. The others, better acquainted with Spanish hypocrisy, residing in foreign countries, were declared outlawries, and had their estates confiscated, so that the poor subjects could make no use of their fortresses nor be assisted by their princess in defence of their liberty against the violence of the pope; besides a great number of other gentlemen and substantial citizens, some of whom were executed, and others banished that their estates might be confiscated, plaguing the other honest inhabitants, not only by the injuries done to their wives, children, and estates by the Spanish soldiers lodged in their houses, as likewise by diverse contributions, which they were forced to pay toward building citadels and new fortifications of towns even to their own ruin, besides the taxes of the hundredth, twentieth, and ten the penny, to pay both the foreign and those raised in the country, to be employed against their fellow-citizens and against those who at the hazard of their lives defended their liberties. In order to impoverish the subjects, and to incapacitate them to hinder his design, and that he might with more ease execute the instructions received in Spain, to treat these countries as new conquests, he began to alter the course of justice after the Spanish mode, directly contrary to our privileges; and, imagining at last he had nothing more to fear, he endeavored by main force to settle a tax called the tenth penny on merchandise and manufactory, to the total ruin of these countries, the prosperity of which depends upon a flourishing trade, notwithstanding frequent remonstrances, not by a single Province only, but by all of them united, which he had effected, had it not been for the Prince of Orange with diverse gentlemen and other inhabitants, who had followed this prince in his exile, most of whom were in his pay, and banished by the Duke of Alva with others who

espoused the liberty of their country. Soon after the Provinces of Holland and Zealand for the most part revolted, putting themselves under the protection of the Prince of Orange, against which Provinces the said duke during his government, and the great commander (whom the king sent to these countries, not to heal the evil, but to pursue the same tyrannical courses by more secret and cautious methods) who succeeded him, forced the Provinces, who by garrisons and citadels were already reduced under the Spanish yoke, both with their lives and fortunes to conquer them, shewing no more mercy to those they employ to assist them than if they had been enemies, permitting the Spaniards, under pretence of mutiny, to enter the city of Antwerp forcibly, in the sight of the great commander, and to live there at discretion for the space of six weeks at the expense of the inhabitants, and obliging them (to be free from Spanish violence) to furnish the sum of four hundred thousand florins for the payment of the troops. After which the said troops, made more insolent by the connivance of their commanders, proceeded to open violence, endeavoring first to surprise the city of Brussels, the prince's usual residence, to be the magazine of their plunder; but, not succeeding in that, they took by force the town of Alost, and after that surprised and forced Maestricht, and soon after the said city of Antwerp, which they plundered and burnt, and massacred the inhabitants in a most barbarous manner, to the irreparable loss not only of the citizens, but to all nations who had any effects there. And notwithstanding the said Spaniards had been, by the council of state (upon which the king, after the decease of the great commander, had conferred the government of the country) in the presence of Jeronimo de Rhoda, declared enemies to the States, by reason of their outrageous violences, nevertheless the said Rhoda, upon his own authority (or as it is imagined) by virtue of certain private instructions which he might possibly have received from Spain, undertook to head the Spaniards and their accomplices, and to use the king's name (in defiance of the said council) and authority, to counterfeit the great seal, and act openly as governor and lieutenant general, which gave occasion to the States at the same time to agree with the aforesaid Prince of Orange, in conjunction with the Provinces of Holland and Zealand, which agreement was approved by the said council of state (as the only legal governors of the country), to declare war unanimously against the

Spaniards as their common enemy, to drive them out of the country; at the same time, like good subjects, making use of all proper applications, humbly petitioning the king to have compassion on account of the calamities already suffered, and of the greater expected hourly, unless his majesty would withdraw his troops, and exemplarily punish the authors of the plundering and burning of our principal cities as some small satisfaction to the distressed inhabitants, and to deter others from committing the like violences. Nevertheless, the king would have us believe that all this was transacted without his knowledge, and that he intended to punish the authors, and that for the future we might expect all tenderness and clemency, and as a gracious prince would give all necessary orders to procure the public peace. And yet he not only neglected to do us justice in punishing the offenders; that, on the contrary, it is plain all was done by orders concerted in the council of Spain; for soon after letters were intercepted directed to Rhoda and other captains, who were the authors of all our miseries, under the king's own hand, in which he not only approves of their proceedings, but even praises and promises them rewards, and particularly to the said Rhoda as having done him singular services, which he performed to him and to all the rest who were ministers of his tyranny, upon his return to Spain. And, the more to blind his subjects, he sent at the same time Don John, his natural brother, as of his blood, to govern these countries, who under pretence of approving the Treaty of Ghent confirming the promise made to the States of driving out the Spaniards, of punishing the authors of the disturbances, of settling the public peace, and of re-establishing their ancient liberties, endeavored to divide the said estates in order to enslave one after another, which was soon after discovered by the providence of God, who is an enemy to all tyranny, by certain intercepted letters, from which it appeared that he was charged by the king to follow the instructions of Rhoda: and, the better to conceal this fraud, they were forbidden to see one another, but that he should converse friendly with the principal lord of the country, that, gaining them over to his party, he might by their assistance reduce Holland and Zealand, after which the other Provinces would be easily subdued. Whereupon Don John, notwithstanding his solemn promise and oath, in the presence of all the aforesaid States, to observe the pacification of Ghent, and other articles stipulated

between him and the States of all the Provinces, on the contrary sought, by all possible promises made to the colonels already at his devotion, to gain the German troops, who were then garrisoned in the principal fortresses and the cities, that by their assistance he might master them, as he had gained many of them already, and held them attached to his interest in order, by their assistance, to force those who would not join with him in making war against the Prince of Orange, and the Provinces of Holland and Zealand, more cruel and bloody than any war before. But, as no disguises can long conceal our intentions, this project was discovered before it could be executed; and he, unable to perform his promises, and instead of that peace so much boasted of at his arrival a new war kindled, not yet extinguished, All these considerations give us more than sufficient reason to renounce the King of Spain, and seek some other powerful and more gracious prince to take us under his protection; and, more especially, as these countries have been for these twenty years abandoned to disturbance and oppression by their king, during which time the inhabitants were not treated as subjects, but enemies, enslaved forcibly by their own governors.

Having also, after the decease of Don John, sufficiently declared by the Baron de Selles that he would not allow the pacification of Ghent, the which Don John had in his majesty's name sworn to maintain, but daily proposing new terms of agreement less advantageous. Notwithstanding these discouragements we used all possible means, by petitions in writing, and the good offices of the greatest princes in Christendom, to be reconciled to our king, having lastly maintained for a long time our deputies at the Congress of Cologne, hoping that the intercession of his imperial majesty and of the electors would procure an honorable and lasting peace, and some degree of liberty, particularly relating to religion (which chiefly concerns God and our own consciences), at last we found by experience that nothing would be obtained of the king by prayers and treaties, which latter he made use of to divide and weaken the Provinces, that he might the easier execute his plan rigorously, by subduing them one by one, which afterwards plainly appeared by certain proclamations and proscriptions published by the king's orders, by virtue of which we and all officers and inhabitants of the United Provinces with all our friends are declared rebels, and as such, to have forfeited our

lives and estates. Thus, by rendering us odious to all, he might interrupt our commerce, likewise reducing us to despair, offering a great sum to any that would assassinate the Prince of Orange. So, having no hope of reconciliation, and finding no other remedy, we have, agreeable to the law of nature in our own defence, and for maintaining the rights, privileges, and liberties of our countrymen, wives, and children, and latest posterity from being enslaved by the Spaniards, been constrained to renounce allegiance to the King of Spain, and pursue such methods as appear to us most likely to secure our ancient liberties and privileges. Know all men by these presents that, being reduced to the last extremity, as above mentioned, we have unanimously and deliberately declared, and do by these presents declare, that the King of Spain has forfeited, *ipso jure*, all hereditary right to the sovereignty of those countries, and are determined from henceforward not to acknowledge his sovereignty or jurisdiction, nor any act of his relating to the domains of the Low Countries, nor make use of his name as prince, nor suffer others to do it. In consequence whereof we also declare all officers, judges, lords, gentlemen, vassals, and all other the inhabitants of this country of what condition or quality soever, to be henceforth discharged from all oaths and obligations whatsoever made to the King of Spain as sovereign of those countries. And whereas, upon the motives already mentioned, the greater part of the United Provinces have, by common consent of their members, submitted to the government and sovereignty of the illustrious Prince and Duke of Anjou, upon certain conditions stipulated with his highness, and whereas the most serene Archduke Matthias has resigned the government of these countries with our approbation, we command and order all justiciaries, officers, and all whom it may concern, not to make use of the name, titles, great or privy seal of the King of Spain from henceforward; but in lieu of them, as long as his highness the Duke of Anjou is absent upon urgent affairs relating to the welfare of these countries, having so agreed with his highness or otherwise, they shall provisionally use the name and title of the President and Council of the Province. And, until such a president and counsellors shall be nominated, assembled, and act in that capacity, they shall act in our name, except that in Holland and Zealand where they shall use the name of the Prince of Orange, and of the States of the said Provinces till the afore-

said council shall legally sit, and then shall conform to the directions of that council agreeable to the contract made with his highness. And, instead of the king's seal aforesaid, they shall make use of our great seal, contreseal, and signet, in affairs relating to the public, according as the said council shall from time to time be authorized. And in affairs concerning the administration of justice, and transactions peculiar to each Province, the provincial council and other councils of that country shall use respectively the name, title, and seal of the said Province, where the case is to be tried, and no other, on pain of having all letters, documents, and despatches annulled. And, for the better and effectual performance hereof, we have ordered and commanded, and do hereby order and command, that all the seals of the King of Spain which are in these United Provinces shall immediately, upon the publication of these presents, be delivered to the estate of each Province respectively, or to such persons as by the said estates shall be authorized and appointed, upon peril of discretionary punishment.

Moreover, we order and command that from henceforth no money coined shall be stamped with the name, title, or arms of the King of Spain in any of these United Provinces, but that all new gold and silver pieces, with their halves and quarters, shall only bear such impressions as the States shall direct. We order likewise and command the president and other lords of the privy council, and all other chancellors, presidents, and lords of the provincial council, and all presidents, accountant-general, and to others in all the chambers of accounts respectively in these said countries, and likewise to all other judges and officers, as we hold them discharged from henceforth of their oath made to the King of Spain, pursuant to the tenor of their commission, that they shall take a new oath to the States of that country on whose jurisdiction they depend, or to commissaries appointed by them, to be true to us against the King of Spain and all his adherents, according to the formula of words prepared by the States-General for that purpose. And we shall give to the said counsellors, justiciaries, and officers employed in these Provinces, who have contracted in our name with his highness the Serenissime, Duke of Anjou, an act to continue them in their respective offices, instead of new commissions, a clause annulling the former provisionally till the arrival of his highness. Moreover to all such counsellors, ac-

comptants, justiciaries, and officers in these Provinces, who have not contracted with his highness aforesaid, we shall grant new commissions under our hands and seals, unless any of the said officers are accused and convicted of having acted under their former commissions against the liberties and privileges of this country or of other the like mal administration. We farther command the president and members of the privy council, chancellor of the Duchy of Brabant, also the chancellor of the Duchy of Gueldres, and county of Zutphen, to the president and members of the council of Holland, to the receivers of great officers of Beoostersheldt and Bewesterscheldt in Zealand, to the president and council of Frise, and to the Escoulet of Mechelen, to the president and members of the council of Utrecht, and to all other justiciaries and officers whom it may concern, to the lieutenants all and every of them, to cause this our ordinance to be published and proclaimed throughout their respective jurisdictions, in the usual places appointed for that purpose, that none may plead ignorance. And to cause our said ordinance to be observed inviolably, punishing the offenders impartially and without delay; for so 'tis found expedient for the public good. And, for better maintaining all and every article hereof, we give to all and every of you, by express command, full power and authority. In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands and seals, dated in our assembly at the Hague, the six and twentieth day of July, 1581, indorsed by the orders of the States-General, and signed J. DE ASSELIERS.

The offer [of the sovereignty to William of Orange] having thus been made and accepted upon the 5th of July, oaths of allegiance and fidelity were exchanged between the Prince and the estates upon the 24th of the same month. In these solemnities the States as representing the Provinces declared that because the King of Spain, contrary to his oath as Count of Holland and Zealand, had not only not protected these Provinces, but had sought with all his might to reduce them to eternal slavery, it had been found necessary to forsake him. They therefore proclaimed every inhabitant absolved from allegiance, while at the same time, in the name of the population, they swore fidelity to the Prince of Orange as representing the supreme authority.

Two days afterwards, upon the 26th of July, 1581, the memorable declaration of independence was issued by the deputies of the United Provinces, then solemnly assembled at the Hague. It was called the Act of Abjuration. It deposed Philip from his sovereignty, but was not the proclamation of a new form of government; for the United Provinces were not ready to dispense with an hereditary chief. Unluckily, they had already provided themselves with a very bad one to succeed Philip in the dominion over most of their territory, while the northern Provinces were fortunate enough and wise enough to take the Father of the country for their supreme magistrate.

The document by which the provinces renounced their allegiance was not the most felicitous of their state papers. It was too prolix and technical. Its style had more of the formal phraseology of legal documents than befitted this great appeal to the whole world and to all time. Nevertheless, this is but matter of taste. The Netherlanders were so eminently a law-abiding people that, like the American patriots of the eighteenth century, they on most occasions preferred punctilious precision to florid declamation. They chose to conduct their revolt according to law. At the same time, while thus decently wrapping herself in conventional garments, the spirit of Liberty revealed none the less her majestic proportions.

At the very outset of the Abjuration, these fathers of the Republic laid down wholesome truths, which at that time seemed startling blasphemies in the ears of Christendom. "All mankind know," said the preamble, "that a prince is appointed by God to cherish his subjects, even as a shepherd to guard his sheep. When, therefore, the prince does not fulfil his duty as protector; when he oppresses his subjects, destroys their ancient liberties, and treats them as slaves, he is to be considered, not a prince, but a tyrant. As such, the estates of the land may lawfully and reasonably depose him, and elect another in his room."

Having enunciated these maxims, the estates proceeded to apply them to their own case; and certainly never was an ampler justification for renouncing a prince since princes were first instituted. The States ran through the history of the past quarter of a century, patiently accumulating a load of charges against the monarch, a tithe of which would have furnished cause for his dethronement. Without passion or

exaggeration, they told the world their wrongs. The picture was not highly colored. On the contrary, it was rather a feeble than a striking portrait of the monstrous iniquity which had so long been established over them. Nevertheless, they went through the narrative conscientiously and earnestly. They spoke of the king's early determination to govern the Netherlands, not by natives, but by Spaniards; to treat them not as constitutional countries, but as conquered provinces; to regard the inhabitants not as liege subjects, but as enemies; above all, to supersede their ancient liberty by the Spanish Inquisition, and they alluded to the first great step in this scheme,—the creation of the new bishoprics, each with its staff of inquisitors.

They noticed the memorable Petition, the mission of Berghen and Montigny, their imprisonment and taking off, in violation of all national law, even that which had ever been held sacred by the most cruel and tyrannical princes. They sketched the history of Alva's administration; his entrapping the most eminent nobles by false promises, and delivering them to the executioner; his countless sentences of death, outlawry, and confiscation; his erection of citadels to curb, his imposition of the tenth and twentieth penny to exhaust the land; his Blood Council and its achievements; and the immeasurable woe produced by hanging, burning, banishing, and plundering during his seven years of residence. They adverted to the Grand Commander as having been sent, not to improve the condition of the country, but to pursue the same course of tyranny by more concealed ways. They spoke of the horrible mutiny which broke forth at his death; of the Antwerp Fury; of the express approbation rendered to that great outrage by the king, who had not only praised the crime, but promised to recompense the criminals. They alluded to Don John of Austria, and his duplicity; to his pretended confirmation of the Ghent treaty; to his attempts to divide the country against itself; to the Escovedo policy; to the intrigues with the German regiments. They touched upon the Cologne negotiations, and the fruitless attempt of the patriots upon that occasion to procure freedom of religion, while the object of the royalists was only to distract and divide the nation. Finally, they commented with sorrow and despair upon that last and crowning measure of tyranny,—the ban against the Prince of Orange.

They calmly observed, after this recital, that they were sufficiently justified in forsaking a sovereign who for more than twenty years had forsaken them. Obeying the law of nature, desirous of maintaining the rights, charters, and liberties of their fatherland, determined to escape from slavery to Spaniards, and making known their decision to the world, they declared the King of Spain deposed from his sovereignty, and proclaimed that they should recognize thenceforth neither his title nor jurisdiction.—*From Motley's "Rise of the Dutch Republic," vol. iii.*

But the most important event in 1581 was the declaration of Dutch Independence, formally issued at the Hague on the 26th of July. By this instrument, Orange, though most unwillingly, felt himself obliged to accept the sovereignty over Holland and Zealand, and whatever else of the seven Provinces was in the hands of the patriots. The Netherlands were now divided into three portions. The Walloon Provinces in the south were reconciled to Philip and Parma. The Middle Provinces were under the almost nominal sovereignty of Anjou, the northern were under William. The Prince of Orange really desired that the sovereignty of Holland should also be conferred on Anjou; but the estates would not have him, and would have none but William,—Father William as they affectionately called him.

Philip's name was now discarded from public documents, his authority was formally, as it long had been effectively, disowned; his seal was broken, and William was thereafter to conduct the government in his own name. The instrument was styled an "Act of Abjuration." At this time it seems surprising that so much delay was made in performing an act which had virtually been in operation for almost a generation. But just as the value of history consists in extracting wisdom for the future from the experience of the past, because the record of social life to have value must be continuous, and because even the remote past has its bearing on the present, so it is quite necessary, if we are to have any reality in our interpretation of the past, to project ourselves into it, and strive with all our powers, original or borrowed, to realize what the past was. . .

The fact is, the action of the Dutch Republic was the first appeal which the world has read on the duties of rulers to their

people. Men have revolted a thousand times against tyranny and misgovernment, sometimes successfully, more frequently to be crushed into more hopeless servitude. The Dutch were the first to justify their action by an appeal to the first principles of justice. They were the first to assert that human institutions and human allegiance to governments are to be interpreted and maintained by their manifest utility. They were the first to assert and prove that men and women are not the private estate of princes, to be disposed of in their industry, their property, their consciences, by the discretion of those who were fortunate enough to be able to live by the labors of others. They were the first to affirm that there is, and must be, a contract between the ruler and the people, even though that contract has not been reduced to writing, or debated on, or fought for; and, strangely enough, the idea which lay under this doctrine was derived from that which had now become the principal instrument of oppression and wrongdoing. The feudal system from which the Dutch broke away was the origin of the tenet that the duties of the ruler and the subject are reciprocal.

But this doctrine had been buried and forgotten. In modern times constitutional antiquaries have exhumed it and wrangled over it. The other doctrine sedulously taught by venal lawyers and ambitious priests, that every right which man has is held at the discretion of the prince, and that every opinion he entertains is to be guided, controlled, or abandoned at the bidding of the priest, had smothered the more ancient theory of reciprocal obligation. The two rulers, king and priest, had entered into a compact. The latter was to teach the doctrine of passive obedience, the former was to support the creed which the latter thought proper to promulgate with the secular arm. During the whole of the seventeenth century the English clergy were teaching the doctrine of passive obedience from the ten thousand pulpits. A century after the declaration of Dutch Independence, Hobbes, who believed nothing, laid down the doctrine that a subject ought to take that creed which the discretion of the king supplied him with.

It is impossible to overestimate the timeliness, the significance, the value of the Act of Abjuration. The sturdy Hollanders, at a time when public liberty seemed entirely lost, and despotism had become a religious creed, began the political reformation. The teachers of Europe in everything, they are

the first to argue that governments exist for nations, not nations for governments. And as precedents, especially successful ones, govern the world, the Dutch gave the cue for the English Parliamentary war, and the English Revolution, to the American Declaration of Independence, to the better side of the French Revolution, and to the public spirit which has slowly and imperfectly recovered liberty from despotism. — *From Thorold Rogers's "Story of Holland."*

Motley's "Rise of the Dutch Republic," "History of the United Netherlands," and "John of Barneveldt" constitute a series of works which cover with rare completeness and power the heroic epoch of Dutch history, and one of the greatest epochs in the history of mankind. There were earlier English histories of Holland, and the student will find them enumerated in the notes appended to Mr. Kitchin's excellent article on the history of Holland in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*; but, as the author rightly says, they are all "cast completely into the shade" by Motley's great works. These, with Schiller's brilliant "Revolt of the Netherlands," will fully satisfy most students of the great conflict of Holland with Spain. Thorold Rogers's little "Story of Holland," in the "Story of the States" series, is an admirable book for both young and old. Alexander Young's "History of the Netherlands" is a good brief history. Far brighter and more picturesque is Rev. W. E. Griffis's "Brave Little Holland," and this is particularly strong in its presentation of the influence of Holland on England and America. This latter is the special theme of Mr. Douglas Campbell's important work, "The Puritan in Holland, England, and America." A discussion of this subject by the editor of these leaflets, with reference to the positions of Dr. Griffis and Mr. Campbell, may be found in the *New England Magazine* for June, 1894; and the general influence of Holland upon the history of liberty and civilization is there outlined. Concerning the Act of Abjuration of 1581, here printed, Mr. Campbell speaks as follows: "The Declaration of Independence then put forth is one of the most important documents in history. A translation of it was found among the papers of Lord Somers, and is published in his 'Tracts.' That great statesman used it as a model for the famous Declaration of Rights by which England, a century later, proclaimed the abdication of James II. and the selection of the Prince and Princess of Orange to fill the vacant throne. Again, after another century, it furnished the model for the still more celebrated Declaration by which the thirteen American colonies announced their independence of Great Britain." It is Lord Somers's translation of the Act of Abjuration which is given in the present leaflet.

PUBLISHED BY

THE DIRECTORS OF THE OLD SOUTH WORK,
Old South Meeting-house, Boston, Mass.



The Battle of Quebec.

FROM CAPTAIN JOHN KNOX'S "HISTORICAL JOURNAL OF THE CAMPAIGNS IN NORTH AMERICA FOR THE YEARS 1757, 1758, 1759, AND 1760."

Sept. 11, 1759. Great preparations are making throughout the fleet and army to surprise the enemy, and compel them to decide the fate of Quebec by a battle. All the long-boats below the town are to be filled with seamen, marines, and such detachments as can be spared from Points Levi and Orleans, in order to make a feint off Beauport and the Point de Lest, and endeavor to engross the attention of the Sieur de Montcalm, while the army are to force a descent on this side of the town. The officer of our regiment who commanded the escort yesterday on the reconnoitring party, being asked in the general's hearing, after the health of one of the gentlemen who was reported to be ill, replied "he was in a very low indifferent state," which the other lamented, saying, "He has but a puny, delicate constitution." This struck his Excellency, it being his own case, who interrupted, "Don't tell me of constitution: that officer has good spirits, and good spirits will carry a man through everything."

September 12. A soldier of the Royal Americans deserted this day from the south shore, and one came over to us from the enemy, who informed the General "that he belonged to a detachment composed of two officers and fifty men who had been sent across the river to take a prisoner; that the French generals suspect we are going higher up to lay waste the country and destroy such ships and craft as they have got above; and that Monsieur Montcalm will not be prevailed on to quit his situation, insisting that the flower of our army are still

below the town; that the reduction of Niagara has caused great discontent in the French army, that the wretched Canadians are much dissatisfied, and that Monsieur de Levis is certainly marched, with a detachment of the army, to Montreal, in order to re-enforce Mr. Bourlemacque and stop General Amherst's progress." This fellow added "that, if we were fairly landed on the north side of the river, an incredible number of the French regulars would actually desert to us." In consequence of this agreeable intelligence, the following orders were this day issued to the army:—

ORDERS.

ON BOARD THE "SUTHERLAND."

"The enemy's force is now divided, great scarcity of provisions now in their camp, and universal discontent among the Canadians. The second officer in command is gone to Montreal or St. John's, which gives reason to think that General Amherst is advancing into the colony. *A vigorous blow struck by the army at this juncture may determine the fate of Canada.* Our troops below are in readiness to join us. All the light artillery and tools are embarked at the Point of Levi, and the troops will land where the French seem least to expect it. The first body that gets on shore is to march directly to the enemy, and drive them from any little post they may occupy. The officers must be careful that the succeeding bodies do not, by any mistake, fire upon those who go on before them. The battalions must form on the upper ground with expedition, and be ready to charge whatever presents itself. When the artillery and troops are landed, a corps will be left to secure the landing-place, while the rest march on and endeavor to bring the French and Canadians to a battle. *The officers and men will remember what their country expects from them, and what a determined body of soldiers, inured to war, is capable of doing against five weak French battalions, mingled with a disorderly peasantry.* The soldiers must be attentive and obedient to their officers and resolute in the execution of their duty."

The Brigadiers Monckton and Murray, with the troops under their command, re-embarked this day from the parish of St. Nicholas, and returned to their ships. This evening all the boats of the fleet below the town were filled with marines, etc., covered by frigates and sloops of war, worked up, and lay half-

channel over, opposite to Beauport, as if intending to land in the morning and thereby fix the enemy's whole attention to that quarter. The ships attending them are to edge over at break of day as near as possible, without grounding, and cannonade the French intrenchments. At nine o'clock this night our army in high spirits, the first division of them put into the flat-bottomed boats, and in a short time after the whole squadron moved up the river with the tide of flood, and about an hour before daylight next morning we fell down with the ebb. Weather favorable, a starlight night.

THURSDAY, Sept. 13, 1759.

Before daybreak this morning we made a descent upon the north shore, about half a quarter of a mile to the eastward of Sillery; and the light troops were fortunately by the rapidity of the current carried lower down between us and Cape Diamond. We had in this debarkation thirty flat-bottomed boats, containing about sixteen hundred men. This was a great surprise on the enemy, who from the natural strength of the place did not suspect, and consequently were not prepared against so bold an attempt. The chain of sentries which they had posted along the summit of the heights galled us a little, and picked off several men* and some officers before our light infantry got up to dislodge them.† This grand enterprise was conducted and executed with great good order and discretion. As fast as we landed, the boats put off for re-enforcements, and the troops formed with much regularity. The General, with Brigadiers Monckton and Murray, was ashore with the first division. We lost no time here, but clambered up one of the steepest precipices that can be conceived, being almost a perpendicular, and of an incredible height. As soon as we gained the summit, all was quiet, and not a shot was heard, owing to the excellent conduct of the light infantry under Colonel Howe. It was by this time clear daylight. Here we formed again, the

*In the boat where I was, one man was killed. One seaman, with four soldiers were slightly, and two mortally, wounded.

† Captain Donald M'Donald, a very gallant officer of Fraser's Highlanders, commanded the advanced guard of the light infantry, and was consequently among the foremost on shore. As soon as he and his men gained the height, he was challenged by a sentry, and with great presence of mind, from his knowledge of the French service, answered him according to their manner. It being yet dark, he came up to him, told him he was sent there with a large command to take post, and desired him to go with all speed to his guard, and to call off all the other men of his party who were ranged along the hill, for that he would take care to give a good account of the B— Anglois if they should persist. This *finesse* had the desired effect, and saved us many lives, etc.

river and the south country in our rear, our right extending to the town, our left to Sillery, and halted a few minutes.* The general then detached the light troops to our left to rout the enemy from their battery, and to disable their guns, except they could be rendered serviceable to the party who were to remain there; and this service was soon performed. We then faced to the right, and marched toward the town by files till we came to the Plains of Abraham, an even piece of ground which Mr. Wolfe had made choice of, while we stood forming upon the hill. Weather showery. About six o'clock the enemy first made their appearance upon the heights between us and the town, whereupon we halted and wheeled to the right, thereby forming the line of battle.† The first disposition then was "grenadiers of Louisburg on the right, forty-seventh regiment on the left, twenty-eighth on the right, and the forty-third on the left." Part of the light infantry took post in the houses at Sillery, and the remainder occupied a chain of houses which were opportunely situated for that purpose, and covered our left flank, inclining toward our rear. The general then advanced some platoons from the grenadiers and twenty-eighth regiment below the height on our right, to annoy the enemy, and prevent their getting round the declivity between us and the main river, which they had attempted. By this time the fifteenth and thirty-fifth regiments joined us, who formed a second line, and were soon after followed by the forty-eighth and fifty-eighth, two battalions of the sixtieth and seventy-eighth regiments (Highlanders), by which a new disposition was made of the whole, namely: "first line, thirty-fifth to the right, in a circular form on the slope of the hill; fifty-eighth, left; grenadiers, right; seventy-eighth, left; twenty-eighth, right; forty-seventh, left; forty-third, in the centre." General Wolfe, Brigadiers Monckton and Murray, to our front line; and the second was composed of the fifteenth and two battalions of the sixtieth regiment under Brigadier Townshend, with a reserve of the forty-eighth regiment, under Colonel Burton,

* *The hill they climbed, and halted at its top, of more than mortal size ;
Towering they seemed, an host angelic, clad in burning arms !*

† Quebec was then to the eastward of us in front, with the enemy under its walls. Our right was flanked by the declivity and the main river to the southward, and what is called the lower road leading (westward) from the town, with the river Charles and the north country, were on our left. If the reader will attend to this description, observing the cardinal points, he may thereby form as lively an idea of the field of battle as if a plan were laid before him; and, though our first disposition was afterward altered, yet our situation, with that of the enemy and the scene of action, could not vary.

drawn up in four grand divisions with large intervals. The enemy had now likewise formed the line of battle, and got some cannon to play on us, with round and canister shot; but what galled us most was a body of Indians and other marksmen they had concealed in the corn opposite to the front of our right wing, and a coppice that stood opposite to our centre inclining toward our left. But the Colonel Hale, by Brigadier Monckton's orders, advanced some platoons alternately from the forty-seventh regiment, which after a few rounds obliged these sculkers to retire. We were now ordered to lie down, and remained some time in this position. About eight o'clock we had two pieces of short brass six-pounders playing on the enemy, which threw them into some confusion, and obliged them to alter their disposition; and Montcalm formed them into three large columns. About nine the two armies moved a little nearer each other. The light cavalry made a faint attempt upon our parties at the battery of Sillery, but were soon beat off; and Monsieur de Bougainville, with his troops from Cape Rouge, came down to attack the flank of our second line, hoping to penetrate there. But, by a masterly disposition of Brigadier Townshend, they were forced to desist; and the third battalion of Royal Americans was then detached to the first ground we had formed on after we gained the heights, to preserve the communication with the beach and our boats. About ten o'clock the enemy began to advance briskly in three columns, with loud shouts and recovered arms, two of them inclining to the left of our army, and the third toward our right, firing obliquely at the two extremities of our line, from the distance of one hundred and thirty, until they came within forty yards, which our troops withstood with the greatest intrepidity and firmness, still reserving their fire and paying the strictest obedience to their officers. This uncommon steadiness, together with the havoc which the grape-shot from our field-pieces made among them, threw them into some disorder, and was most critically maintained by a well-timed, regular, and heavy discharge of our small arms, such as they could no longer oppose.*

* When the general formed the line of battle, he ordered the regiments to load with an additional ball. The forty-third and forty-seventh regiments, in the centre, being little affected by the oblique fire of the enemy, gave them, with great calmness, as remarkable a close and heavy discharge as I ever saw performed at a private field of exercise, insomuch that better troops than we encountered could not possibly withstand it; and, indeed, well might the French officers say that they never opposed such a shock as they received from the centre of our line, for that they believed every ball took place, and such regularity and discipline they had not experienced before, our troops in general, and particularly the central corps, having levelled and fired — *comme un coup de canon*.

Hereupon they gave way, and fled with precipitation, so that by the time the cloud of smoke was vanished our men were again loaded, and, profiting by the advantage we had over them, pursued them almost to the gates of the town and the bridge over the little river, redoubling our fire with great eagerness, making many officers and men prisoners. The weather cleared up, with a comfortably warm sunshine. The Highlanders chased them vigorously toward Charles River, and the fifty-eighth to the suburb close to John's gate, until they were checked by the cannon from the two hulks. At the same time a gun which the town had brought to bear upon us with grape-shot galled the progress of the regiments to the right, who were likewise pursuing with equal ardor, while Colonel Hunt Walsh, by a very judicious movement, wheeled the battalions of Bragg and Kennedy to the left, and flanked the coppice where a body of the enemy made a stand as if willing to renew the action; but a few platoons from these corps completed our victory. Then it was that Brigadier Townshend came up, called off the pursuers, ordered the whole line to dress and recover their former ground. Our joy at this success is inexpressibly damped by the loss we sustained of one of the greatest heroes which this or any other age can boast of,—General James Wolfe,—who received his mortal wound as he was exerting himself at the head of the grenadiers of Louisburg; and Brigadier Monckton was unfortunately wounded upon the left of the forty-third and right of the forty-seventh regiment at much the same time, whereby the command devolved on Brigadier Townshend, who, with Brigadier Murray, went to the head of every regiment and returned thanks for their extraordinary good behavior, congratulating the officers on our success. There is one incident very remarkable, and which I can affirm from my own personal knowledge,—that the enemy were extremely apprehensive of being rigorously treated; for, conscious of their inhuman behavior to our troops upon a former occasion, the officers who fell into our hands most piteously (with hats off) sued for quarter, repeatedly declaring they were not at Fort William Henry (called by them Fort George) in the year 1757. A soldier of the Royal Americans who deserted from us this campaign, and fought against us to-day, was found wounded on the field of battle. He was immediately tried by a general court-martial, and was shot to death pursuant to his sentence. While the two armies were engaged this morning, there was an incessant

firing between the town and our south batteries. By the time that our troops had taken a little refreshment, a quantity of intrenching tools were brought ashore, and the regiments were employed in redoubting our ground and landing some cannon and ammunition. The officers who are prisoners say that Quebec will surrender in a few days. Some deserters who came out to us in the evening agree in that opinion, and inform us that the *Sieur de Montcalm* is dying, in great agony, of a wound he received to-day in their retreat. Thus has our late renowned commander by his superior eminence in the art of war, and a most judicious *coup d'état*, made a conquest of this fertile, healthy, and hitherto formidable country, with a handful of troops only, in spite of the political schemes and most vigorous efforts of the famous *Montcalm*, and many other officers of rank and experience at the head of an army considerably more numerous. My pen is too feeble to draw the character of this *British Achilles*; but the same may, with justice, be said of him as was said of *Henry IV.* of France: *he was possessed of courage, humanity, clemency, generosity, affability, and politeness.* And though the former of these happy ingredients, how essential soever it may be in the composition of a soldier, is not alone sufficient to distinguish an expert officer, yet I may with strict truth advance that *Major General James Wolfe*, by his great talents and martial disposition, which he discovered early in life, was greatly superior to his experience in generalship, and was by no means inferior to a *Frederic*, a *Henry*, or a *Ferdinand*.

“When the matter matched his mighty mind,
Up rose the hero: on his piercing eye
Sat observation, on each glance of thought
Decision followed, as the thunderbolt
Pursues the flash.”

The strength of our army this day in the action will best appear by the following return, to which I shall subjoin that of the enemy as delivered to me afterward by an intelligent Frenchman.

OFFICERS PRESENT, RANK AND FILE, ETC.

Number of Corps.	Regiments.	Commissioned.						Staff.				N. Com.		Rank and File.	Total of all Ranks, including General Officers, etc.	
		Colonels.	Lieutenant Cols.	Majors.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Adjutants.	Quartermasters.	Surgeons.	Mates.	Sergeants.	Drummers.			
15th	Amherst's	1	0	1	4	15	5	0	0	1	0	21	6	352	406	
28th	Bragg's	1	0	1	5	9	6	0	0	1	0	23	11	362	421	
35th	Otway's	0	1	1	5	11	8	1	1	1	0	23	11	456	519	
43d	Kennedy's	0	0	1	6	6	4	1	1	0	0	17	11	280	327	
47th	Lascelles's	0	1	0	5	8	8	0	0	0	0	31	2	305	360	
48th	Webb's	0	1	0	4	16	7	1	0	1	1	33	14	605	683	
58th	Anstruther's	0	1	1	4	7	6	0	0	0	0	20	0	296	335	
60th	{ Monckton's	1	0	0	2	6	6	0	0	0	0	26	15	266	322	
	{ Lawrence's	0	1	0	4	11	8	0	0	0	0	28	14	474	540	
78th	Fraser's	0	0	0	7	12	7	1	0	0	0	28	14	603	662	
22d	{ Louisburg	0	1	0	2	8	0	1	0	0	0	9	4	216	241	
40th																
45th	{ of Grenad. }															
Total		3	6	5	48	109	67	5	2	4	1	259	102	4215	4816	4828

One major-general, three brigadiers-general, one quartermaster-general, one aid quartermaster-general, one adjutant general, four majors of brigade, two aides-de-camp.

STATE OF THE FRENCH ARMY.

Right Column.		Centre Column.		Left Column.	
Troupes de Colonie	550	Regiment de Berne	360	Royale Rousillon	650
Regiment de la Sarre	500	Regiment de Guienne	360	La Colonie	650
Reg. de Languedoc	550	Des Milices	1200	Des Milices	2300
Des Milices and one } six-pounder }	400				
2000		1920		3600	

Monsieur de Bougainville's corps from Cape Rouge, consisting of five companies of grenadiers, cavalry, Canadian volunteers, savages, and militia, two thousand and sixty; total of the enemy, nine thousand five hundred and eighty.

Deserters who are come over to us since the action inform us that it was very difficult to persuade Monsieur de Montcalm and the other commanders that the flower of our army were behind the town: and, after the marquis had marched his troops over the river Charles, and taken a view of us, he said: "They have at last got to the weak side of this miserable garrison. Therefore, we must endeavor to crush them with our numbers, *and scalp them all before twelve o'clock.*" Every coppice, bush, or other cover that stood on our ground this morning were cut down before night, and applied to the use of our new works. The houses were all fortified and several redoubts thrown up round our camp, which is about one thousand yards from the garrison, before ten o'clock.

ORDERS.

SEPTEMBER 14.

"Parole, Wolfe; countersign, England."

"The remaining general officers fit to act take the earliest opportunity to express the praise which is due to the conduct and bravery of the troops, and the victory which attended it sufficiently proves the superiority which this army has over any number of such troops as they engaged yesterday *They wish that the person who lately commanded them had survived so glorious a day, and had this day been able to give the troops these just encomiums.* The fatigues which the troops will be obliged to undergo, to reap the advantage of this victory, will be supported with a true spirit, as this seems to be the period which will determine in all probability our American labors. The troops are to receive a gill of rum per day, and will receive fresh provisions the day after to-morrow. The regiments and corps to give returns of their killed and wounded yesterday, and the strength of their corps. The pioneers of the different regiments to bury the dead. The corps are to send all their tools not immediately in use to the artillery park. All French papers or letters found are desired to be sent to the headquarters. No soldier to presume to stroll beyond the outposts. Arms that cannot be drawn are to be fired into the swamp near the headquarters. The admiral has promised the continuance of all the assistance which the naval service can spare, to ease the troops of the fatigues which the farther operations will require of us. General Townshend has the satisfaction to

acquaint the troops that General Monckton's wound is not dangerous. The commanding officers of the corps will order the rolls to be called every half-hour to prevent marauding, etc."

Last night Brigadier Townshend went with a detachment of two hundred men to the French general hospital, situated on the river Charles, and about a mile from the town. This is a convent of nuns of the Augustine order, who — from principles of charity and piety — take care of all sick and wounded men and officers. Lands are appropriated for the support of this institution, besides which the French king endows it with a yearly salary; and a table is kept there at his expense for convalescent officers, directors, surgeons, apothecaries, etc. The brigadier found an officer's guard at the convent, but he immediately took possession of the place by posting a captain's command there. The unfortunate Marquis de Montcalm was then in the house, dying of his wound, attended by the bishop and his chaplains. A transport, a schooner, and a parcel of boats, with ordnance and stores, passed the town last night. The enemy fired briskly on them, but without any effect. The garrison appear to be at work upon their ramparts, as if resolved to prolong the siege. Some deserters who came out to us this day inform us that Monsieur de Levis, who has rejoined and collected their shattered forces, had intended to surprise the rear of our camp at daybreak this morning, but, upon reconnoitring our situation and finding we had made such excellent use of our time in erecting redoubts and other works, prudently declined the undertaking. The Sieur* de Montcalm died late last night. When his wound was dressed and he settled in bed, the surgeons who attended him were desired to acquaint him ingenuously with their sentiments of him; and, being answered that his wound was mortal, he calmly replied, "he was glad of it." His Excellency then demanded "whether he could survive it long, and how long." He was told, "About a dozen hours, perhaps more, peradventure less." "So much the better," rejoined this eminent warrior. "I am happy I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec." He then ordered his secretary into the room to adjust his private affairs, which, as soon as they were dispatched, he was visited by Monsieur de Ramsey, the French king's lieutenant, and by other principal

*The appointments of this great man as lieutenant-general and commander-in-chief, etc., did not exceed a thousand sols per day; and I have been credibly informed that all his other emoluments did not amount to more than the like sum,—the whole equivalent to about nine hundred and thirty pounds sterling per annum.

officers who desired to receive his Excellency's commands, with the farther measures to be pursued for the defence of Quebec, the capital of Canada. To this the marquis made the following answer: "I'll neither give orders nor interfere any farther. I have much business that must be attended to, of greater moment than your ruined garrison and this wretched country. My time is very short, therefore pray leave me. I wish you all comfort, and to be happily extricated from your present perplexities." He then called for his chaplain, who, with the bishop of the colony, remained with him till he expired. Some time before this great man departed, we are assured he paid us this compliment: "Since it was my misfortune to be discomfited, and mortally wounded, it is a great consolation to me to be vanquished by so brave and generous an enemy. If I could survive this wound, I would engage to beat three times the number of such forces as I commanded this morning with a third of their number of British troops."

We are drawing artillery and ammunition ashore with all expedition, in which we are much favored at present by the weather, and have found a convenient road for the purpose leading directly from the cove to the camp. This is the place that had been intended for our descent yesterday; but the morning being dark, and the tide of ebb very rapid, we were imperceptibly carried a little lower down, which proved a favorable circumstance, for there was a strong intrenchment that covered the road, lined by a detachment of one hundred and fifty men. It is still much more fortunate that the general had not deferred the execution of his project to another day; for two French regiments, with a corps of savages, were actually under orders of readiness to march at six o'clock on the morning of the 13th, and intrench themselves immediately along the heights; but, happily, our troops were in possession of that ground before the enemy had any thoughts of stirring. Several men and officers wounded to-day in camp by shot and shells from the town. The French regulars in the late engagement fired slugs of lead and iron from their small arms. Some of them were found in the shot pouches of the officers that were made prisoners, who, being challenged upon this subject, replied with a magnificent shrug, "It was their custom, without any ill design." A flag of truce came from the garrison this afternoon, requesting permission to bury their dead. All that were within our reach we had interred before. Brigadier Monck-

ton took the opportunity in this cessation to pass the town to his tent at Point Levi, of which notice was sent to the governor and to our batteries on the south shore.

After our late worthy general of renowned memory was carried off wounded to the rear of the front line, he desired those who were about him to lay him down. Being asked if he would have a surgeon, he replied, "It is needless: it is all over with me." One of them then cried out, "They run, see how they run!" "Who runs?" demanded our hero with great earnestness, like a person roused from sleep. The officer answered: "The enemy, sir. Egad, they give way everywhere." Thereupon the general rejoined: "*Go, one of you, my lads, to Colonel Burton—; tell him to march Webb's regiment with all speed down to Charles River, to cut off the retreat of the fugitives from the bridge.*" Then, turning on his side, he added, "*Now, God be praised, I will die in peace!*" and thus expired.*

. *Quis*

*Myrmidonum, Dolopumque, aut duri miles Ulysei,
Temperet a lachrymis?*

This resignation and greatness of soul calls to my remembrance an almost similar story of Epaminondas, the Theban general, who, having received in fight a mortal wound with a sword, which was left in his body, lay in that posture till he received intelligence that his troops had obtained a victory, and then permitted it to be drawn out, saying at that instant, "This is not the end of my life, my fellow-soldiers; it is now your Epaminondas was born who dies in so much glory."

When Horace Walpole wrote the annals of his time, he thus described the impression made on the English public by the touching and inspiring story of Wolfe's heroism and death: "The incidents of dramatic fiction could not be conducted with more address to lead an audience from despondency to sudden exaltation than accident prepared to excite the passions of a whole people. They despaired.

* Various accounts have been circulated of General Wolfe's manner of dying, his last words, and the officers into whose hands he fell. And many, from a vanity of talking, claimed the honor of being his supporters after he was wounded. But the foregoing circumstances were ascertained to me by Lieutenant Brown, of the grenadiers of Louisburg, and the twenty-second regiment, who with Mr. Henderson, a volunteer in the same company and a private man, were the three persons who carried his Excellency to the rear, which an artillery officer seeing, immediately flew to his assistance; and these were all that attended him in his dying moments. *I do not recollect the artillery officer's name, or it should be cheerfully recorded here.*

they triumphed, and they wept; for Wolfe had fallen in the hour of victory. Joy, curiosity, astonishment, was painted on every countenance. The more they inquired, the more their admiration rose. Not an incident but was heroic and affecting." England blazed with bonfires. In one spot alone all was dark and silent; for here a widowed mother mourned for a loving and devoted son, and the people forbore to profane her grief with the clamor of their rejoicings.

New England had still more cause of joy than Old, and she filled the land with jubilation. The pulpits resounded with sermons of thanksgiving, some of which were worthy of the occasion that called them forth. Among the rest, Jonathan Mayhew, a young but justly celebrated minister of Boston, pictured with enthusiasm the future greatness of the British-American colonies, with the continent thrown open before them, and foretold that, "with the continued blessing of Heaven, they will become, in another century or two, a mighty empire"; adding in cautious parenthesis, "*I do not mean an independent one.*" He read Wolfe's victory aright, and divined its far-reaching consequence. . . .

Half the continent changed hands at the scratch of a pen. Governor Bernard, of Massachusetts, proclaimed a day of thanksgiving for the great event, and the Boston newspapers recount how the occasion was celebrated with a parade of the cadets and other volunteer corps, a grand dinner in Faneuil Hall, music, bonfires, illuminations, firing of cannon, and, above all, by sermons in every church of the province; for the heart of early New England always found voice through her pulpits. Before me lies a bundle of these sermons, rescued from sixscore years of dust, scrawled on their title-pages with names of owners dead long ago, worm-eaten, dingy, stained with the damps of time, and uttering in quaint old letterpress the emotions of a buried and forgotten past. Triumph, gratulation, hope, breathe in every line, but no ill-will against a fallen enemy. Thomas Foxcroft, pastor of the "Old Church, in Boston," preaches from the text, "The Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad." "Long," he says, "had it been the common opinion, *Delenda est Carthago*, Canada must be conquered, or we could hope for no lasting quiet in these parts; and now, through the good hand of our God upon us, we see the happy day of its accomplishment. We behold His Majesty's victorious troops treading upon the high places of the enemy, their last fortress delivered up, and their whole country surrendered to the King of Britain in the person of his general, the intrepid, the serene, the successful Amherst."

The loyal John Mellen, pastor of the Second Church in Lancaster, exclaims, boding nothing of the tempest to come: "Let us fear God and honor the king, and be peaceable subjects of an easy and happy government. And may the blessing of Heaven be ever upon those enemies of our country that have now submitted to the English crown, and according to the oath they have taken lead quiet lives in

all godliness and honesty." Then he ventures to predict that America, now thrown open to British colonists, will be peopled in a century and a half with sixty million souls,—a prophecy likely to be more than fulfilled.

"God has given us to sing this day the downfall of New France, the North American Babylon, New England's rival," cries Eli Forbes to his congregation of sober farmers and staid matrons at the rustic village of Brookfield. Like many of his flock, he had been to the war, having served two years as chaplain of Ruggles's Massachusetts regiment; and something of a martial spirit breathes through his discourse. He passes in review the events of each campaign down to their triumphant close. "Thus God was our salvation and our strength; yet He who directs the great events of war suffered not our joy to be uninterrupted, for we had to lament the fall of the valiant and good General Wolfe, whose death demands a tear from every British eye, a sigh from every Protestant heart. Is he dead? I recall myself. Such heroes are immortal: he lives on every loyal tongue; he lives in every grateful breast; and charity bids me give him a place among the princes of heaven." Nor does he forget the praises of Amherst, "the renowned general, worthy of that most honorable of all titles, the Christian hero; for he loves his enemies, and while he subdues them he makes them happy. He transplants British liberty to where till now it was unknown. He acts the general, the Briton, the conqueror, and the Christian. What fair hopes arise from the peaceful and undisturbed enjoyment of this good land, and the blessing of our gracious God with it! Methinks I see towns enlarged, settlements increased, and this howling wilderness become a fruitful field which the Lord hath blessed; and, to complete the scene, I see churches rise and flourish in every Christian grace where has been the seat of Satan and Indian idolatry."

Nathaniel Appleton, of Cambridge, hails the dawning of a new era. "Who can tell what great and glorious things God is about to bring forward in the world, and in this world of America in particular? Oh, may the time come when these deserts, which for ages unknown have been regions of darkness and habitations of cruelty, shall be illuminated with the light of the glorious gospel; and when this part of the world, which till the later ages was utterly unknown, shall be the glory and joy of the whole earth!" . . .

All, and more than all, that France had lost England had won. Now, for the first time, she was beyond dispute the greatest of maritime and colonial powers. Portugal and Holland, her precursors in ocean enterprise, had long ago fallen hopelessly behind. Two great rivals remained, and she had humbled the one and swept the other from her path. Spain, with vast American possessions, was sinking into the decay which is one of the phenomena of modern history; while France, of late a most formidable competitor, had abandoned the contest in despair. England was mistress of the seas, and the

world was thrown open to her merchants, explorers, and colonists. A few years after the peace the navigator Cook began his memorable series of voyages, and surveyed the strange and barbarous lands which after-times were to transform into other Englands, vigorous children of this great mother of nations. It is true that a heavy blow was soon to fall upon her: her own folly was to alienate the eldest and greatest of her offspring. But nothing could rob her of the glory of giving birth to the United States; and, though politically severed, this gigantic progeny were to be not the less a source of growth and prosperity to the parent that bore them, joined with her in a triple kinship of laws, language, and blood. The war or series of wars that ended with the peace of Paris secured the opportunities and set in action the forces that have planted English homes in every clime, and dotted the earth with English garrisons and posts of trade.

With the peace of Paris ended the checkered story of New France,—a story which would have been a history if faults of constitution and the bigotry and folly of rulers had not dwarfed it to an episode. Yet it is a noteworthy one in both its lights and its shadows: in the disinterested zeal of the founder of Quebec, the self-devotion of the early missionary martyrs, and the daring enterprise of explorers; in the spiritual and temporal vassalage from which the only escape was to the savagery of the wilderness; and in the swarming corruptions which were the natural result of an attempt to rule, by the absolute hand of a master beyond the Atlantic, a people bereft of every vestige of civil liberty.

Scarcely were they free from the incubus of France when the British Provinces showed symptoms of revolt. The measures on the part of the mother-country which roused their resentment, far from being oppressive, were less burdensome than the navigation laws to which they had long submitted; and they resisted taxation by Parliament simply because it was in principle opposed to their rights as freemen. They did not, like the American Provinces of Spain at a later day, sunder themselves from a parent fallen into decrepitude, but with astonishing audacity they affronted the wrath of England in the hour of her triumph, forgot their jealousies and quarrels, joined hands in the common cause, fought, endured, and won. The disunited colonies became the United States.—*From Parkman's "Montcalm and Wolfe."*

"The Peace of Paris," says Parkman, in the concluding chapter of his "Montcalm and Wolfe," "marks an epoch than which none in modern history is more fruitful of grand results. With it began a new chapter in the annals of the world"; and he borrows the words of Green in his "History of the English People": "With the triumph of Wolfe on the Heights of Abraham began the history of the United States." John Fiske's judg-

ment is that "the triumph of Wolfe marks the greatest turning-point as yet discoverable in modern history." It was a significant and great event because it settled the fact that North America should be New England, and not New France.

"The British cause," says Hinsdale, in his "Old North-west," "was the cause of the North-west and of America. Put in the broadest way, the question was, whether French or English ideas and tendencies should have sway in North America. Montcalm and Wolfe were both gallant soldiers and able commanders, both true patriots and chivalrous gentlemen; but they stood on the Heights of Abraham that September day for very different things: Montcalm for the *old régime*, Wolfe for the House of Commons; Montcalm for the alliance of king and priest, Wolfe for *habeas corpus* and free inquiry; Montcalm for the past, Wolfe for the future; Montcalm for Louis XV. and Madame de Pompadour, Wolfe for George Washington and Abraham Lincoln."

Of the long struggle of France for the possession of this continent Parkman is the historian, his great series of books, ending with the "Montcalm and Wolfe," constituting a body of historical work which is unique and monumental. "Mr. Parkman's Histories" is the subject of a special Old South Leaflet, 7th series, 1889, No. 3; and to that the student is referred for representative selections and careful historical and bibliographical notes.

Captain John Knox's "Historical Journal of the Campaigns in North America for the years 1757, 1758, 1759, and 1760," from which the account of the battle of Quebec given in the present leaflet is taken, is a large work in two volumes, published in London a few years after the battle, and is of high value as the careful record of one who was a participant in the great events described. There is a large number of contemporary narratives of the siege of Quebec, both on the English and French sides; and a careful account of them may be found in the notes to Justin Winsor's chapter on "The Struggle for the Great Valleys of North America," in the "Narrative and Critical History of America," vol. v. There are few great historical events concerning which the original material is more abundant or valuable. The most important life of Wolfe is that by Wright. There is an admirable brief biography by Bradley in the "English Men of Action" series. Special attention should also be called to the address by Sabine before the New England Historic-Genealogical Society in 1859, the hundredth anniversary of the death of Wolfe. The appendix contains much valuable matter; and the study of the many different accounts of Wolfe's last moments is of peculiar interest. Knox's account differs in important respects from others; but Mr. Sabine's verdict is that it is his version which we may confidently adopt. This, too, is the account followed by Parkman.

PUBLISHED BY

THE DIRECTORS OF THE OLD SOUTH WORK,
Old South Meeting-house, Boston, Mass.



Hamilton's Report on the Coinage.

U. S. Treasury dept.

COMMUNICATED TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
JANUARY 28, 1791.

The Secretary of the Treasury having attentively considered the subject referred to him by the order of the House of Representatives of the 15th of April last, relatively to the establishment of a mint, most respectfully submits the result of his inquiries and reflections.

A plan for an establishment of this nature involves a great variety of considerations,—intricate, nice, and important. The general state of debtor and creditor; all the relations and consequences of price; the essential interests of trade and industry; the value of all property; the whole income, both of the State and of individuals,—are liable to be sensibly influenced, beneficially or otherwise, by the judicious or injudicious regulation of this interesting object.

It is one, likewise, not more necessary than difficult to be rightly adjusted; one which has frequently occupied the reflections and researches of politicians, without having harmonized their opinions on some of the most important of the principles which enter into its discussion. Accordingly, different systems continue to be advocated, and the systems of different nations, after much investigation, continue to differ from each other.

But, if a right adjustment of the matter be truly of such nicety and difficulty, a question naturally arises, whether it may not be most advisable to leave things, in this respect, in the state in which they are. Why, might it be asked, since they have so long proceeded in a train which has caused no

general sensation of inconvenience, should alterations be attempted, the precise effect of which cannot with certainty be calculated?

The answer to this question is not perplexing. The immense disorder which actually reigns in so delicate and important a concern, and the still greater disorder which is every moment possible, call loudly for a reform. The dollar originally contemplated in the money transactions of this country, by successive diminutions of its weight and fineness, has sustained a depreciation of five per cent. ; and yet the new dollar has a currency in all payments in place of the old, with scarcely any attention to the difference between them. The operation of this in depreciating the value of property, depending upon past contracts, and (as far as inattention to the alteration in the coin may be supposed to leave prices stationary) of all other property is apparent. Nor can it require argument to prove that a nation ought not to suffer the value of the property of its citizens to fluctuate with the fluctuations of a foreign mint and to change with the changes in the regulations of a foreign sovereign. This, nevertheless, is the condition of one which, having no coins of its own, adopts with implicit confidence those of other countries.

The unequal values allowed in different parts of the Union to coins of the same intrinsic worth, the defective species of them which embarrass the circulation of some of the States, and the dissimilarity in their several moneys on account, are inconveniences which, if not to be ascribed to the want of a national coinage, will at least be most effectually remedied by the establishment of one,—a measure that will at the same time give additional security against impositions by counterfeit as well as by base currencies.

It was with great reason, therefore, that the attention of Congress, under the late Confederation, was repeatedly drawn to the establishment of a mint; and it is with equal reason that the subject has been resumed, now that the favorable change which has taken place in the situation of public affairs admits of its being carried into execution.

But, though the difficulty of devising a proper establishment ought not to deter from undertaking so necessary a work, yet it cannot but inspire diffidence in one whose duty it is made to propose a plan for the purpose, and may perhaps be permitted to be relied upon as some excuse for any errors which

may be chargeable upon it or for any deviations from sounder principles which may have been suggested by others or even in part acted upon by the former government of the United States.

In order to a right judgment of what ought to be done, the following particulars require to be discussed: —

1st. What ought to be the nature of the money unit of the United States?

2d. What the proportion between gold and silver, if coins of both metals are to be established?

3d. What the proportion and composition of alloy in each kind?

4th. Whether the expense of coinage shall be defrayed by the government or out of the material itself?

5th. What shall be the number, denominations, sizes, and devices of the coins?

6th. Whether foreign coins shall be permitted to be current or not; if the former, at what rate, and for what period?

A prerequisite to determining with propriety what ought to be the money unit of the United States is to endeavor to form as accurate an idea as the nature of the case will admit of what it actually is. The pound, though of various value, is the unit in the money account of all the States. But it is not equally easy to pronounce what is to be considered as the unit in the coins. There being no formal regulation on the point (the resolutions of Congress of the 6th of July, 1785, and 8th of August, 1786, having never yet been carried into operation), it can only be inferred from usage or practice. The manner of adjusting foreign exchanges would seem to indicate the dollar as best entitled to that character. In these the old piaster of Spain or old Seville piece of eight *reals*, of the value of four shillings and sixpence sterling, is evidently contemplated. The computed par between Great Britain and Pennsylvania will serve as an example. According to that, one hundred pounds sterling is equal to one hundred and sixty-six pounds and two-thirds of a pound, Pennsylvania currency; which corresponds with the proportion between 4*s.* 6*d.* sterling and 7*s.* 6*d.*, the current value of the dollar in that State by invariable usage. And, as far as the information of the Secretary goes, the same comparison holds in the other States.

But this circumstance in favor of the dollar loses much of its weight from two considerations. That species of coin has

never had any settled or standard value, according to weight or fineness, but has been permitted to circulate by tale, without regard to either, very much as a mere money of convenience, while gold has had a fixed price by weight, and with an eye to its fineness. This greater stability of value of the gold coins is an argument of force for regarding the money unit as having been hitherto virtually attached to gold rather than to silver.

Twenty-four grains and six-eighths of a grain of fine gold have corresponded with the nominal value of the dollar in the several States, without regard to the successive diminutions of its intrinsic worth.

But, if the dollar should, notwithstanding, be supposed to have the best title to being considered as the present unit in the coins, it would remain to determine what kind of dollar ought to be understood; or, in other words, what precise quantity of fine silver.

The old piaster of Spain, which appears to have regulated our foreign exchanges, weighed 17 dwt. 12 grains, and contained 386 grains and 15 mites of fine silver. But this piece has been long since out of circulation. The dollars now in common currency are of recent date, and much inferior to that both in weight and fineness. The average weight of them upon different trials in large masses has been found to be 17 dwt. 8 grains. Their fineness is less precisely ascertained, the results of various assays, made by different persons, under the direction of the late Superintendent of the Finances and of the Secretary, being as various as the assays themselves. The difference between their extremes is not less than 24 grains in a dollar of the same weight and age, which is too much for any probable differences in the pieces. It is rather to be presumed that a degree of inaccuracy has been occasioned by the want of proper apparatus and, in general, of practice. The experiment which appears to have the best pretensions to exactness would make the new dollar to contain 370 grains and 933 thousandth parts of a grain of pure silver.

According to an authority on which the Secretary places reliance, the standard of Spain for its silver coin, in the year 1761, was 261 parts fine and 27 parts alloy, at which proportion a dollar of 17 dwt. 8 grains would consist of 377 grains of fine silver and 39 grains of alloy. But there is no question that this standard has been since altered considerably for the

worse,—to what precise point is not as well ascertained as could be wished; but, from a computation of the value of dollars in the markets both of Amsterdam and London (a criterion which cannot materially mislead), the new dollar appears to contain about 368 grains of fine silver, and that which immediately preceded it about 374 grains.

In this state of things there is some difficulty in defining the dollar which is to be understood as constituting the present money unit, on the supposition of its being most applicable to that species of coin. The old Seville piece of 386 grains and 15 mites fine comports best with the computations of foreign exchanges, and with the more ancient contracts respecting landed property; but far the greater number of contracts still in operation concerning that kind of property and all those of a merely personal nature now in force must be referred to a dollar of a different kind. The actual dollar, at the time of contracting, is the only one which can be supposed to have been intended; and it has been seen that, as long ago as the year 1761, there had been a material degradation of the standard. And, even in regard to the more ancient contracts, no person has ever had any idea of a scruple about receiving the dollar of the day as a full equivalent for the nominal sum which the dollar originally imported.

A recurrence, therefore, to the ancient dollar would be in the greatest number of cases an innovation *in fact*, and in all an innovation in respect to opinion. The actual dollar in common circulation has evidently a much better claim to be regarded as the actual money unit.

The mean intrinsic value of the different kinds of known dollars has been intimated as affording the proper criterion. But, when it is recollected that the more ancient and more valuable ones are not now to be met with at all in circulation, and that the mass of those generally current is composed of the newest and most inferior kinds, it will be perceived that even an equation of that nature would be a considerable innovation upon the real present state of things, which it will certainly be prudent to approach, as far as may be consistent with the permanent order designed to be introduced.

An additional reason for considering the prevailing dollar as the standard of the present money unit rather than the ancient one is that it will not only be conformable to the true existing proportion between the two metals in this country, but

will be more conformable to that which obtains in the commercial world generally.

The difference established by custom in the United States between coined gold and coined silver has been stated upon another occasion to be nearly as 1 to 15.6. This, if truly the case, would imply that gold was extremely overvalued in the United States; for the highest *actual proportion* in any part of Europe very little, if at all, exceeds 1 to 15, and the average proportion throughout Europe is probably not more than about 1 to 14 $\frac{1}{2}$. But that statement has proceeded upon the idea of the ancient dollar. One pennyweight of gold of twenty-two carats fine at 6*s.* 8*d.* and the old Seville piece of 386 grains and 15 mites of pure silver at 7*s.* 6*d.* furnish the exact ratio of 1 to 15.6262. But this does not coincide with the real difference between the metals in our market or, which is with us the same thing, in our currency. To determine this, the quantity of fine silver in the general mass of the dollars now in circulation must afford the rule. Taking the rate of the late dollar of 374 grains, the proportion would be as 1 to 15.11. Taking the rate of the newest dollar, the proportion would then be as 1 to 14.87. The mean of the two would give the proportion of 1 to 15 very nearly: less than the legal proportions in the coins of Great Britain, which is as 1 to 15.2; but somewhat more than the actual or market proportion, which is not quite 1 to 15.

The preceding view of the subject does not indeed afford a precise or certain definition of the present unit in the coins, but it furnishes data which will serve as guides in the progress of the investigation. It ascertains, at least, that the sum in the money of account of each State, corresponding with the nominal value of the dollar in such State, corresponds also with 24 grains and $\frac{6}{8}$ of a grain of fine gold, and with something between 368 and 374 grains of fine silver.

The next inquiry toward a right determination of what ought to be the future money unit of the United States turns upon these questions: Whether it ought to be peculiarly attached to either of the metals in preference to the other or not; and, if to either, to which of them?

The suggestions and proceedings, hitherto, have had for object the annexing of it emphatically to the silver dollar. A resolution of Congress of the 6th of July, 1785, declares that the money unit of the United States shall be a dollar; and

another resolution of the 8th of August, 1786, fixes that dollar at 375 grains and 64 hundredths of a grain of fine silver. The same resolution, however, determines that there shall also be two gold coins, one of 246 grains and 268 parts of a grain of pure gold, equal to ten dollars, and the other of half that quantity of pure gold, equal to five dollars. And it is not explained whether either of the two species of coins, of gold, or silver, shall have any greater legality in payments than the other. Yet it would seem that a preference in this particular is necessary to execute the idea of attaching the unit exclusively to one kind. If each of them be as valid as the other in payments to any amount, it is not obvious in what effectual sense either of them can be deemed the money unit rather than the other.

If the general declaration, that the dollar shall be the money unit of the United States, could be understood to give it a superior legality in payments, the institution of coins of gold and the declaration that each of them shall be *equal* to a certain number of dollars, would appear to destroy that inference. And the circumstance of making the dollar the unit in the money of account seems to be rather matter of form than of substance.

Contrary to the ideas which have heretofore prevailed in the suggestions concerning a coinage for the United States, though not without much hesitation, arising from a deference for those ideas, the Secretary is, upon the whole, strongly inclined to the opinion that a preference ought to be given to neither of the metals for the money unit. Perhaps, if either were to be preferred, it ought to be gold rather than silver.

The reasons are these:—

The inducement to such a preference is to render the unit as little variable as possible, because on this depends the steady value of all contracts and, in a certain sense, of all other property. And it is truly observed that, if the unit belong indiscriminately to both the metals, it is subject to all the fluctuations that happen in the relative value which they bear to each other. But the same reason would lead to annexing it to that particular one which is itself the least liable to variation, if there be in this respect any discernible difference between the two.

Gold may perhaps, in certain senses, be said to have greater stability than silver, as, being of superior value, less liberties

have been taken with it in the regulations of different countries. Its standard has remained more uniform, and it has in other respects undergone fewer changes, as, being not so much an article of merchandise, owing to the use made of silver in the trade with the East Indies and China, it is less liable to be influenced by circumstances of commercial demand. And if, reasoning by analogy, it could be affirmed that there is a physical probability of greater proportional increase in the quantity of silver than in that of gold, it would afford an additional reason for calculating on greater steadiness in the value of the latter.

As long as gold, either from its intrinsic superiority as a metal, from its greater rarity, or from the prejudices of mankind, retains so considerable a pre-eminence in value over silver as it has hitherto had, a natural consequence of this seems to be that its condition will be more stationary. The revolutions, therefore, which may take place in the comparative value of gold and silver will be changes in the state of the latter rather than in that of the former.

If there should be an appearance of too much abstraction in any of these ideas, it may be remarked that the first and most simple impressions do not naturally incline to giving a preference to the inferior or less valuable of the two metals.

It is sometimes observed that silver ought to be encouraged rather than gold, as being more conducive to the extension of bank circulation, from the greater difficulty and inconvenience which its greater bulk compared with its value occasions in the transportation of it. But bank circulation is desirable rather as *an auxiliary* to than as *a substitute* for that of the precious metals, and ought to be left to its natural course. Artificial expedients to extend it by opposing obstacles to the other are, at least, not recommended by any very obvious advantages. And, in general, it is the safest rule to regulate every particular institution or object according to the principles which in relation to itself appear the most sound. In addition to this, it may be observed that the inconvenience of transporting either of the metals is sufficiently great to induce a preference of bank paper whenever it can be made to answer the purpose equally well.

But, upon the whole, it seems to be most advisable, as has been observed, not to attach the unit exclusively to either of the metals, because this cannot be done effectually without

destroying the office and character of one of them as money and reducing it to the situation of a mere merchandise, which accordingly, at different times, has been proposed from different and very respectable quarters, but which would, probably, be a greater evil than occasional variations in the unit from the fluctuations in the relative value of the metals, especially if care be taken to regulate the proportion between them with an eye to their average commercial value.

To annul the use of either of the metals as money is to abridge the quantity of circulating medium, and is liable to all the objections which arise from a comparison of the benefits of a full with the evils of a scanty circulation.

It is not a satisfactory answer to say that none but the favored metal would in this case find its way into the country, as in that all balances must be paid. The practicability of this would, in some measure, depend on the abundance or scarcity of it in the country paying. Where there was but little, it either would not be procurable at all or it would cost a premium to obtain it, which in every case of a competition with others in a branch of trade would constitute a deduction from the profits of the party receiving. Perhaps, too, the embarrassments which such a circumstance might sometimes create in the pecuniary liquidation of balances might lead to additional efforts to find a substitute in commodities, and might so far impede the introduction of the metals. Neither could the exclusion of either of them be deemed in other respects favorable to commerce. It is often in the course of trade as desirable to possess the kind of money as the kind of commodities best adapted to a foreign market.

It seems, however, most probable that the chief, if not the sole effect, of such a regulation would be to diminish the utility of one of the metals. It could hardly prove an obstacle to the introduction of that which was excluded in the natural course of trade, because it would always command a ready sale for the purpose of exportation to foreign markets. But such an effect, if the only one, is not to be regarded as a trivial inconvenience.

If, then, the unit ought not to be attached exclusively to either of the metals, the proportion which ought to subsist between them in the coins becomes a preliminary inquiry in order to its proper adjustment. This proportion appears to be in several views of no inconsiderable moment.

One consequence of overvaluing either metal in respect to the other is the banishment of that which is undervalued. If two countries are supposed, in one of which the proportion of gold to silver is as 1 to 16, in the other as 1 to 15, gold being worth more, silver less, in one than in the other, it is manifest that, in their reciprocal payments, each will select that species which it values least to pay to the other, where it is valued most. Besides this the dealers in money will, from the same cause, often find a profitable traffic in an exchange of the metals between the two countries. And hence it would come to pass, if other things were equal, that the greatest part of the gold would be collected in one, and the greatest part of the silver in the other. The course of trade might, in some degree, counteract the tendency of the difference in the legal proportions, by the market value; but this is so far and so often influenced by the legal rates that it does not prevent their producing the effect which is inferred. Facts, too, verify the inference. In Spain and England, where gold is rated higher than in other parts of Europe, there is a scarcity of silver; while it is found to abound in France and Holland, where it is rated higher in proportion to gold than in the neighboring nations. And it is continually flowing from Europe to China and the East Indies, owing to the comparative cheapness of it in the former, and dearness of it in the latter.

This consequence is deemed by some not very material, and there are even persons who from a fanciful predilection to gold are willing to invite it even by a higher price. But general utility will best be promoted by a due proportion of both metals. If gold be most convenient in large payments, silver is best adapted to the more minute and ordinary circulation.

But it is to be suspected that there is another consequence more serious than the one which has been mentioned. This is the diminution of the total quantity of specie which a country would naturally possess.

It is evident that as often as a country which overrates either of the metals receives a payment in that metal, it gets a less actual quantity than it ought to do or than it would do if the rate were a just one.

It is also equally evident that there will be a continual effort to make payment to it in that species to which it has annexed an exaggerated estimation wherever it is current at a less proportional value. And it would seem to be a very natural effect

of these two causes, not only that the mass of the precious metals in the country in question would consist chiefly of that kind to which it had given an extraordinary *value*, but that it would be absolutely less than if they had been duly proportioned to each other.

A conclusion of this sort, however, is to be drawn with great caution. In such matters there are always some local and many other particular circumstances which qualify and vary the operation of general principles, even where they are just; and there are endless combinations, very difficult to be analyzed, which often render principles that have the most plausible pretensions unsound and delusive.

There ought, for instance, according to those which have been stated, to have been formerly a greater quantity of gold in proportion to silver in the United States than there has been, because the actual value of gold in this country compared with silver was perhaps higher than in any other. But our situation with regard to the West Indian islands, into some of which there is a large influx of silver directly from the mines of South America, occasions an extraordinary supply of that metal, and consequently a greater proportion of it in our circulation than might have been expected from its relative value.

What influence the proportion under consideration may have upon the state of prices, and how far this may counteract its tendency to increase or lessen the quantity of the metals, are points not easy to be developed; and yet they are very necessary to an accurate judgment of the true operation of the thing.

But, however impossible it may be to pronounce with certainty that the possession of a less quantity of specie is a consequence of overvaluing either of the metals, there is enough of probability in the considerations which seem to indicate it to form an argument of weight against such overvaluation.

A third ill consequence resulting from it is a greater and more frequent disturbance of the state of the money unit by a greater and more frequent diversity between the legal and market proportions of the metals. This has not hitherto been experienced in the United States, but it has been experienced elsewhere; and from its not having been felt by us hitherto it does not follow that this will not be the case hereafter, when our commerce shall have attained a maturity which will place it under the influence of more fixed principles.

In establishing a proportion between the metals, there seems to be an option of one of two things:—

To approach as nearly as can be ascertained the mean or average proportion in what may be called the commercial world; or

To retain that which now exists in the United States.

As far as these happen to coincide, they will render the course to be pursued more plain and more certain.

To ascertain the first with precision would require better materials than are possessed or than could be obtained without an inconvenient delay.

Sir Isaac Newton, in a representation to the treasury of Great Britain, in the year 1717, after stating the particular proportions in the different countries of Europe, concludes thus: “By the course of trade and exchange between nation and nation in all Europe fine gold is to fine silver as $14\frac{1}{2}$ or 15 to 1.”

But, however accurate and decisive this authority may be deemed in relation to the period to which it applies, it cannot be taken at the distance of more than seventy years as a rule for determining the existing proportion. Alterations have been since made in the regulations of their coins by several nations, which, as well as the course of trade, have an influence upon the market values. Nevertheless, there is reason to believe that the state of the matter as represented by Sir Isaac Newton is not very remote from its actual state.

In Holland, the greatest *money* market of Europe, gold was to silver, in December, 1789, as 1 to 14.88; and in that of London it has been for some time past but little different, approaching, perhaps, something nearer 1 to 15.

It has been seen that the existing proportion between the two metals in this country is about as 1 to 15.

It is fortunate, in this respect, that the innovations of the Spanish mint have imperceptibly introduced a proportion so analogous as this is to that which prevails among the principal commercial nations, as it greatly facilitates a proper regulation of the matter.

This proportion of 1 to 15 is recommended by the particular situation of our trade, as being very nearly that which obtains in the market of Great Britain, to which nation our specie is principally exported. A lower rate for either of the metals, in our market than in hers, might not only afford a motive the more, in certain cases, to remit in specie rather than in com-

modities; but it might, in some others, cause us to pay a greater quantity of it for a given sum than we should otherwise do. If the effect should rather be to occasion a premium to be given for the metal which was underrated, this would obviate those disadvantages; but it would involve another,—a customary difference between the market and legal proportions which would amount to a species of disorder in the national coinage.

Looking forward to the payments of interest hereafter to be made to Holland, the same proportion does not appear ineligible. The present legal proportion in the coins of Holland is stated to be 1 to $14\frac{9}{10}$. That of the market varies somewhat at different times, but seldom very widely from this point.

There can hardly be a better rule, in any country, for the legal than the market proportion, if this can be supposed to have been produced by the free and steady course of commercial principles. The presumption, in such case, is that each metal finds its true level, according to its intrinsic utility in the general system of money operations.

But it must be admitted that this argument in favor of continuing the existing proportion is not applicable to the state of the coins with us. There have been too many artificial and heterogeneous ingredients, too much want of order in the pecuniary transactions of this country, to authorize the attributing the effects which have appeared to the regular operations of commerce. A proof of this is to be drawn from the alterations which have happened in the proportion between the metals merely by the successive degradations of the dollar in consequence of the mutability of a foreign mint. The value of gold to silver appears to have declined wholly from this cause from $15\frac{6}{10}$ to about 15 to 1. Yet, as this last proportion, however produced, coincides so nearly with what may be deemed the commercial average, it may be supposed to furnish as good a rule as can be pursued.

The only question seems to be whether the value of gold ought not to be a little lowered to bring it to a more exact level with the two markets which have been mentioned. But, as the ratio of 1 to 15 is so nearly conformable to the state of those markets and best agrees with that of our own, it will probably be found the most eligible. If the market of Spain continues to give a higher value to gold (as it has done in time past) than that which is recommended, there may be some advantage in a middle station.

A further preliminary to the adjustment of the future money unit is to determine what shall be the proportion and composition of alloy in each species of the coins.

The first, by the resolution of the 8th of August, 1786, before referred to, is regulated at one-twelfth, or, in other words, at 1 part alloy to 11 parts fine, whether gold or silver, which appears to be a convenient rule, unless there should be some collateral consideration which may dictate a departure from it. Its correspondency in regard to both metals is a recommendation of it, because a difference could answer no purpose of pecuniary or commercial utility, and uniformity is favorable to order.

This ratio as it regards gold coincides with the proportion, real or professed, in the coins of Portugal, England, France, and Spain. In those of the two former it is real: in those of the two latter there is a deduction for what is called *remedy of weight and alloy*, which is in the nature of an allowance to the master of the mint for errors and imperfections in the process, rendering the coin either lighter or baser than it ought to be. The same thing is known in the theory of the English mint, where $\frac{1}{6}$ of a carat is allowed. But the difference seems to be that *there* it is merely an occasional indemnity within a certain limit for real and unavoidable errors and imperfections, whereas, in the practice of the mints of France and Spain, it appears to amount to a stated and regular deviation from the nominal standard. Accordingly, the real standards of France and Spain are something worse than 22 carats, or 11 parts in 12 fine.

The principal gold coins in Germany, Holland, Sweden, Denmark, Poland, and Italy, are finer than those of England and Portugal, in different degrees, from 1 carat and $\frac{1}{4}$ to 1 carat and $\frac{7}{8}$, which last is within $\frac{1}{8}$ of a carat of pure gold.

There are similar diversities in the standards of the silver coins of the different countries of Europe. That of Great Britain is 222 parts fine to 18 alloy: those of the other European nations vary from that of Great Britain as widely as from about 17 of the same parts better to 75 worse.

The principal reasons assigned for the use of alloy are the saving of expense in the refining of the metals (which in their natural state are usually mixed with a portion of the coarser kinds) and the rendering of them harder as a security against too great waste by friction or wearing. The first reason drawn

from the original composition of the metals is strengthened at present by the practice of alloying their coins, which has obtained among so many nations. The reality of the effect to which the last reason is applicable has been denied, and experience has been appealed to as proving that the more alloyed coins wear faster than the purer. The true state of this matter may be worthy of future investigation, though first appearances are in favor of alloy. In the mean time the saving of trouble and expense are sufficient inducements to following those examples which suppose its expediency. And the same considerations lead to taking as our models those nations with whom we have most intercourse and whose coins are most prevalent in our circulation. These are Spain, Portugal, England, and France. The relation which the proposed proportion bears to their gold coins has been explained. In respect to their silver coins, it will not be very remote from the mean of their several standards.

The component ingredients of the alloy in each metal will also require to be regulated. In silver, copper is the only kind in use, and it is doubtless the only proper one. In gold there is a mixture of silver and copper, in the English coins consisting of equal parts, in the coins of some other countries varying from $\frac{1}{3}$ to $\frac{2}{3}$ silver.

The reason of this union of silver with copper is this: the silver counteracts the tendency of the copper to injure the color or beauty of the coin by giving it too much redness, or rather a coppery hue, which a small quantity will produce; and the copper prevents the too great whiteness which silver alone would confer. It is apprehended that there are considerations which may render it prudent to establish by law that the proportion of silver to copper, in the gold coins of the United States, shall not be more than $\frac{1}{2}$ nor less than $\frac{1}{3}$, vesting discretion in some proper place to regulate the matter within those limits, as experience in the execution may recommend.

A third point remains to be discussed as a prerequisite to the determination of the money unit, which is whether the expense of coining shall be defrayed by the public or out of the material itself, or, as it is sometimes stated, whether coinage shall be free or shall be subject to a duty or imposition. This forms, perhaps, one of the nicest questions in the doctrine of money.

The practice of different nations is dissimilar in this particu-

lar. In England coinage is said to be entirely free, the mint price of the metals in bullion being the same with the value of them in coin. In France there is a duty which has been, if it is not now, eight per cent. In Holland there is a difference between the mint price and the value in the coins, which has been computed at .96, or something less than one per cent. upon gold, at 1.48 or something less than one and a half per. cent upon silver. The resolution of the 8th of August, 1786, proceeds upon the idea of a deduction of a half per cent. from gold and of two per cent. from silver as an indemnification for the expense of coining. This is inferred from a report of the late Board of Treasury, upon which that resolution appears to have been founded.

Upon the supposition that the expense of coinage ought to be defrayed out of the metals, there are two ways in which it may be effected,—one by a reduction of the quantity of fine gold and silver in the coins, the other by establishing a difference between the value of those metals in the coins and the mint price of them in bullion.

The first method appears to the Secretary inadmissible. He is unable to distinguish an operation of this sort from that of raising the denomination of the coin,—a measure which has been disapproved by the wisest men of the nations in which it has been practised and condemned by the rest of the world. To declare that a less weight of gold or silver shall pass for the same sum which before represented a greater weight or to ordain that the same weight shall pass for a greater sum are things substantially of one nature. The consequence of either of them, if the change can be realized, is to degrade the money unit, obliging creditors to receive less than their just dues and depreciating property of every kind. For it is manifest that everything would in this case be represented by a less quantity of gold and silver than before.

It is sometimes observed, on this head, that, though any article of property might, in fact, be represented by a less actual quantity of pure metal, it would, nevertheless, be represented by something of the same intrinsic value. Every fabric, it is remarked, is worth intrinsically the price of the raw material and the expense of fabrication,—a truth not less applicable to a piece of coin than to a yard of cloth.

This position, well founded in itself, is here misapplied. It supposes that the coins now in circulation are to be considered

as bullion, or, in other words, as raw material. But the fact is that the adoption of them as money has caused them to become the fabric: it has invested them with the character and office of coins, and has given them a sanction and efficacy equivalent to that of the stamp of the sovereign. The prices of all our commodities at home and abroad, and of all foreign commodities in our markets, have found their level in conformity to this principle. The foreign coins may be *divested* of the privilege they have hitherto been permitted to enjoy, and may of course be *left* to find their value in the market as a raw material. But the quantity of gold and silver in the national coins corresponding with a given sum cannot be made less than heretofore without disturbing the balance of intrinsic value, and making every acre of land as well as every bushel of wheat of less actual worth than in time past. If the United States were isolated and cut off from all intercourse with the rest of mankind, this reasoning would not be equally conclusive. But it appears decisive when considered with a view to the relations which commerce has created between us and other countries.

It is, however, not improbable that the effect meditated would be defeated by a rise of prices proportioned to the diminution of the intrinsic value of the coins. This might be looked for in every enlightened commercial country, but, perhaps, in none with greater certainty than this, because in none are men less liable to be the dupes of sounds, in none has authority so little resource for substituting names for things.

A general revolution in prices, though only nominally and in appearance, could not fail to distract the ideas of the community, and would be apt to breed discontents as well among all those who live on the income of their money as among the poorer classes of the people, to whom the necessities of life would seem to have become dearer. In the confusion of such a state of things ideas of value would not improbably adhere to the old coins, which, from that circumstance, instead of feeling the effect of the loss of their privilege as money, would, perhaps, bear a price in the market relatively to the new ones in exact proportion to weight. The frequency of the demand for the metals to pay foreign balances would contribute to this effect.

Among the evils attendant on such an operation are these: creditors both of the public and of individuals would lose a

part of their property, public and private credit would receive a wound, the effective revenues of the government would be diminished. There is scarcely any point in the economy of national affairs of greater moment than the uniform preservation of the intrinsic value of the money unit. On this the security and steady value of property essentially depend.

The second method, therefore, of defraying the expense of the coinage out of the metals is greatly to be preferred to the other. This is to let the same sum of money continue to represent in the new coins exactly the same quantity of gold and silver as it does in those now current; to allow at the mint such a price only for those metals as will admit of profit just sufficient to satisfy the expense of coinage; to abolish the legal currency of the foreign coins, both in public and private payments; and of course to leave the superior utility of the national coins for domestic purposes, to operate the difference of market value, which is necessary to induce the bringing of bullion to the mint. In this case all property and labor will still be represented by the same quantity of gold and silver as formerly; and the only change which will be wrought will consist in annexing the office of money exclusively to the national coins, consequently withdrawing it from those of foreign countries, and suffering them to become, as they ought to be, mere articles of merchandise.

The arguments in favor of a regulation of this kind are: —

First. That the want of it is a cause of extra expense. There being, then, no motive of individual interest to distinguish between the national coins and bullion, they are, it is alleged, indiscriminately melted down for domestic manufactures, and exported for the purposes of foreign trade; and it is added that, when the coins become light by wearing, the same quantity of fine gold or silver bears a higher price in bullion than in the coins, in which state of things the melting down of the coins to be sold as bullion is attended with profit; and from both causes the expense of the mint, or, in other words, the expense of maintaining the specie capital of the nation, is materially augmented.

Secondly. That the existence of such a regulation promotes a favorable course of exchange and benefits trade not only by that circumstance, but by obliging foreigners in certain cases to pay dearer for domestic commodities and to sell their own cheaper.

As far as relates to the tendency of a free coinage to produce an increase of expense in the different ways that have been stated, the argument must be allowed to have foundation both in reason and in experience. It describes what has been exemplified in Great Britain.

The effect of giving an artificial value to bullion is not at first sight obvious; but it actually happened at the period immediately preceding the late reformation in the gold coin of the country just named. A pound troy in gold bullion of standard fineness was then from 19*s.* 6*d.* to 25*s.* sterling dearer than an equal weight of guineas as delivered at the mint. The phenomenon is thus accounted for: The old guineas were more than two per cent. lighter than their *standard weight*. This *weight*, therefore, in bullion, was truly worth two per cent. more than those guineas. It consequently had in respect to them a correspondent rise in the market.

And, as guineas were then current by *tale*, the new ones, as they issued from the mint, were confounded in circulation with the old ones, and by the association were depreciated below the intrinsic value in comparison with bullion. It became, of course, a profitable traffic to sell bullion for coin, to select the light pieces and reissue them in currency, and to melt down the heavy ones and sell them again as bullion. This practice, besides other inconveniences, cost the government large sums in the renewal of the coins.

But the remainder of the argument stands upon ground far more questionable. It depends upon very numerous and very complex combinations, in which there is infinite latitude for fallacy and error.

The most plausible part of it is that which relates to the course of exchange. Experience in France has shown that the market price of bullion has been influenced by the mint difference between that and coin, sometimes to the full extent of the difference; and it would seem to be a clear inference that, whenever that difference materially exceeded the charges of remitting bullion from the country where it existed to another in which coinage is free, exchange would be in favor of the former.

If, for instance, the balance of trade between France and England were at any time equal, their merchants would naturally have reciprocal payments to make to an equal amount, which, as usual, would be liquidated by means of bills of exchange. If in this situation the difference between coin and bullion should be in the market as at the mint of France eight per cent., if also the charges of transporting money from France to England should not be above two per cent., and if exchange should be at par, it is evident that a profit of six per cent. might be made by sending bullion from France to England and drawing bills for the amount. One hundred louis d'ors in coin would purchase the weight of one hundred and eight in bullion, one hundred of which remitted to England would suffice to pay a debt of an equal amount; and, two being paid for the charges of insurance and transportation, there would remain six for the benefit of the per-

son who should manage the negotiation. But, as so large a profit could not fail to produce competition, the bills in consequence of this would decrease in price till the profit was reduced to the *minimum* of an adequate recompense for the trouble and risk. And, as the amount of one hundred louis d'ors in England might be afforded for ninety-six in France with a profit of more than one and a half per cent., bills upon England might fall in France to four per cent. below par, one per cent. being a sufficient profit to the exchanger or broker for the management of the business.

But it is *admitted* that this advantage is lost when the balance of trade is against the nation which imposes the duty in question, because by increasing the demand for bullion it brings this to a par with the coins; and it is to be *suspected* that, where commercial principles have their free scope and are well understood, the market difference between the metals in coin and bullion will seldom approximate to that of the mint, if the latter be considerable. It must be not a little difficult to keep the money of the world, which can be employed to an equal purpose in the commerce of the world, in a state of degradation in comparison with the money of a particular country.

This alone would seem sufficient to prevent it. Whenever the price of coin to bullion in the market materially exceeded the par of the metals, it would become an object to send the bullion abroad, if not to pay a foreign balance, to be invested in some other way in foreign countries where it bore a superior value,—an operation by which immense fortunes might be amassed, if it were not that the exportation of the bullion would of itself restore the intrinsic par. But, as it would naturally have this effect, the advantage supposed would contain in itself the principle of its own destruction. As long, however, as the exportation of bullion could be made with profit, which is as long as exchange could remain below par, there would be a drain of the gold and silver of the country.

If anything can maintain for a length of time a material difference between the value of the metals in coin and in bullion, it must be a constant and considerable balance of trade in favor of the country in which it is maintained. In one situated like the United States, it would in all probability be a hopeless attempt. The frequent demand for gold and silver to pay balances to foreigners would tend powerfully to preserve the equilibrium of intrinsic value.

The prospect is that it would occasion foreign coins to circulate by common consent nearly at par with the national.

To say that as far as the effect of lowering exchange is produced, though it be only occasional and momentary, there is a benefit the more thrown into the scale of public prosperity, is not satisfactory. It has been seen that it may be productive of one evil, the investment of a part of the national capital in foreign countries, which can hardly be beneficial but in a situation like that of the United Nether-

lands, where an immense capital and a decrease of internal demand render it necessary to find employment for money in the wants of other nations; and perhaps on a close examination other evils may be descried.

One allied to that which has been mentioned is this,—taking France for the sake of more concise illustration as the scene: Whenever it happens that French louis d'ors are sent abroad from whatever cause, if there be a considerable difference between coin and bullion in the market of France, it will constitute an advantageous traffic to send back these louis d'ors and bring away bullion in lieu of them, upon all which exchanges France must sustain an actual loss of a part of its gold and silver.

Again, such a difference between coin and bullion may tend to counteract a favorable balance of trade. Whenever a foreign merchant is the carrier of his own commodities to France for sale, he has a strong inducement to bring back specie instead of French commodities, because a return in the latter may afford no profit, may even be attended with loss. In the former it will afford a certain profit. The same principle must be supposed to operate in the general course of remittances from France to other countries. The principal question with a merchant naturally is, In what manner can I realize a given sum with most advantage where I wish to place it? And, in cases in which other commodities are not likely to produce equal profit with bullion, it may be expected that this will be preferred, to which the greater certainty attending the operation must be an additional incitement. There can hardly be imagined a circumstance less friendly to trade than the existence of an extra inducement arising from the possibility of a profitable speculation upon the articles themselves to export from a country its gold and silver rather than the products of its land and labor.

The other advantages supposed, of obliging foreigners to pay dearer for domestic commodities and to sell their own cheaper, are applied to a situation which includes a favorable balance of trade. It is understood in this sense,—the prices of domestic commodities (such at least as are peculiar to the country) remain attached to the denominations of the coins. When a favorable balance of trade realizes in the market the mint difference between coin and bullion, foreigners who must pay in the latter are obliged to give more of it for such commodities than they otherwise would do. Again, the bullion, which is now obtained at a cheaper rate in the home market, will procure the same quantity of goods in the foreign market as before, which is said to render foreign commodities cheaper. In this reasoning much fallacy is to be suspected. If it be true that foreigners pay more for domestic commodities, it must be equally true that they get more for their own when they bring them themselves to the market. If peculiar or other domestic commodities adhere to the denominations of the coins, no reason occurs why

foreign commodities of a like character should not do the same thing; and in this case the foreigner, though he receive only the same value in coin for his merchandise as formerly, can convert it into a greater quantity of bullion. Whence the nation is liable to lose more of its gold and silver than if their intrinsic value in relation to the coins were preserved. And whether the gain or the loss will, on the whole, preponderate, would appear to depend on the comparative proportion of active commerce of the one country with the other.

It is evident, also, that the nation must pay as much gold and silver as before for the commodities which it procures *abroad*; and whether it obtains this gold and silver cheaper or not turns upon the solution of the question just intimated, respecting the relative proportion of active commerce between the two countries.

Besides these considerations, it is admitted in the reasoning that the advantages supposed, which depend on a favorable balance of trade, have a tendency to affect that balance disadvantageously. Foreigners, it is allowed, will in this case seek some other vent for their commodities and some other market where they can supply their wants at an easier rate. A tendency of this kind, if real, would be a sufficient objection to the regulation. Nothing which contributes to change a beneficial current of trade can well compensate by particular advantages for so injurious an effect. It is far more easy to transfer trade from a less to a more favorable channel than, when once transferred, to bring it back to its old one. Every source of artificial interruption to an advantageous current is, therefore, cautiously to be avoided.

It merits attention that the able minister who lately and so long presided over the finances of France does not attribute to the duty on coinage in that country any particular advantages in relation to exchange and trade. Though he rather appears an advocate for it, it is on the sole ground of the revenue it affords, which he represents as in the nature of a very moderate duty on the general mass of exportation.

And it is not improbable that to the singular felicity of situation of that kingdom is to be attributed its not having been sensible of the evils which seem incident to the regulation. There is, perhaps, no part of Europe which has so little need of other countries as France. Comprehending a variety of soils and climates, an immense population, its agriculture in a state of mature improvement, it possesses within its own bosom most, if not all, the productions of the earth which any of its most favored neighbors can boast. The variety, abundance, and excellence of its wines constitute a peculiar advantage in its favor. Arts and manufactures are there also in a very advanced state, some of them of considerable importance in higher perfection than elsewhere. Its contiguity to Spain, the intimate nature of its connection with that country,—a country with few fabrics of its own, consequently numerous wants, and the principal

receptacle of the treasures of the New World,—these circumstances concur in securing to France so uniform and so considerable a balance of trade as in a great measure to counteract the natural tendency of any errors which may exist in the system of her mint, and to render inferences from the operation of that system there, in reference to this country, more liable to mislead than to instruct. Nor ought it to pass unnoticed that with all these advantages the government of France has found it necessary on some occasions to employ very violent methods to compel the bringing of bullion to the mint,—a circumstance which affords a strong presumption of the inexpediency of the regulation and of the impracticability of executing it in the United States.

This point has been the longer dwelt upon, not only because there is a diversity of opinion among speculative men concerning it, and a diversity in the practice of the most considerable commercial nations, but because the acts of our own government under the Confederation have not only admitted the expediency of defraying the expense of coinage out of the metals themselves, but upon this idea have both made a deduction from the weight of the coins and established a difference between their regulated value and the mint price of bullion, greater than would result from that deduction. This double operation in favor of a principle so questionable in itself has made a more particular investigation of it a duty.

The intention, however, of the preceding remarks is rather to show that the expectation of commercial advantages ought not to decide in favor of a duty on coinage, and that, if it should be adopted, it ought not to be in the form of a deduction from the intrinsic value of the coins than absolutely to exclude the idea of any difference whatever between the value of the metals in coin and in bullion. It is not clearly discerned that a small difference between the mint price of bullion and the regulated value of the coins would be pernicious or that it might not even be advisable, in the first instance, by way of experiment merely as a preventive to the melting down and exportation of the coins. This will now be somewhat more particularly considered.

The arguments for a coinage entirely free are that it preserves the intrinsic value of the metals, that it makes the expense of fabrication a general instead of partial tax, and that it tends to promote the abundance of gold and silver, which, it is alleged, will flow to that place where they find the best price and from that place where they are in any degree undervalued.

The first consideration has not much weight as an objection to a plan which, without diminishing the quantity of metals in the coins, merely allows a less price for them in bullion at the national factory or mint. No rule of intrinsic value is violated by considering the raw material as worth less than the fabric in proportion to the expense of fabrication. And by divesting foreign coins of the privilege of circulating as money they become the raw material.

The second consideration has perhaps greater weight. But it may not amount to an objection, if it be the best method of preventing disorders in the coins, which it is, in a particular manner, the interest of those on whom the tax would fall to prevent. The practice of taking gold by weight, which has of late years obtained in Great Britain, has been found in some degree a remedy; but this is inconvenient, and may on that account fall into disuse. Another circumstance has had a remedial operation. This is the delay of the mint. It appears to be the practice there not to make payment for the bullion which is brought to be exchanged for coin till it either has in fact, or is pretended to have, undergone the process of recoinage.

The necessity of fulfilling prior engagements is a cause or pretext for postponing the delivery of the coin in lieu of the bullion. And this delay creates a difference in the market price of the two things. Accordingly, for some years past, an ounce of standard gold, which is worth in coin £3 17s. 10½d. sterling, has been in the market of London, in bullion, only £3 17s. 6d., which is within a small fraction of one-half per cent. less. Whether this be management in the mint to accommodate the bank in the purchase of bullion or to effect indirectly something equivalent to a formal difference of price or whether it be the natural course of the business is open to conjecture.

It at the same time indicates that, if the mint were to make prompt payment at about half per cent. less than it does at present, the state of bullion in respect to coin would be precisely the same as it now is. And it would be then certain that the government would save expense in the coinage of gold, since it is not probable that the time actually lost in the course of the year in converting bullion into coin can be an equivalent to half per cent. on the advance, and there will generally be at the command of the treasury a considerable sum of money waiting for some periodical disbursement, which without hazard might be applied to that advance.

In what sense a free coinage can be said to promote the abundance of gold and silver may be inferred from the instances which have been given of the tendency of a contrary system to promote their exportation. It is, however, not probable that a very small difference of value between coin and bullion can have any effect which ought to enter into calculation. There can be no inducement of positive profit to export the bullion as long as the difference of price is exceeded by the expense of transportation. And the prospect of smaller loss upon the metals than upon commodities when the difference is very minute will be frequently overbalanced by the possibility of doing better with the latter from a rise of markets. It is, at any rate, certain that it can be of no consequence, in this view, whether the superiority of coin to bullion in the market be produced as in England by the delay of the mint or by a formal discrimination in the regulated values.

Under an impression that a *small* difference between the value of

the coin and the mint price of bullion is the least exceptionable expedient for restraining the melting down or exportation of the former, and not perceiving that, if it be a very moderate one, it can be hurtful in other respects, the Secretary is inclined to an experiment of one-half per cent. on each of the metals. The fact which has been mentioned with regard to the price of gold bullion in the English market seems to demonstrate that such a difference may safely be made. In this case there must be immediate payment for the gold and silver offered to the mint. How far one-half per cent. will go towards defraying the expense of the coinage cannot be determined beforehand with accuracy. It is presumed that on an economical plan it will suffice in relation to gold. But it is not expected that the same rate on silver will be sufficient to defray the expense attending that metal. Some additional provision may therefore be found necessary if this limit be adopted.

It does not seem to be advisable to make any greater difference in regard to silver than to gold, because it is desirable that the proportion between the two metals in the market should correspond with that in the coins, which would not be the case if the mint price of one was comparatively lower than that of the other, and because, also, silver being proposed to be rated in respect to gold somewhat below its general commercial value, if there should be a disparity to its disadvantage in the mint prices of the two metals, it would obstruct too much the bringing of it to be coined, and would add an inducement to export it. Nor does it appear to the Secretary safe to make a greater difference between the value of coin and bullion than has been mentioned. It will be better to have to increase it hereafter, if this shall be found expedient, than to have to recede from too considerable a difference in consequence of evils which shall have been experienced.

It is sometimes mentioned as an expedient which, consistently with a free coinage, may serve to prevent the evils desired to be avoided, to incorporate in the coins a greater proportion of alloy than is usual, regulating their value, nevertheless, according to the quantity of pure metal they contain. This, it is supposed, by adding to the difficulty of refining them, would cause bullion to be preferred, both for manufacture and exportation.

But strong objections lie against this scheme,—an augmentation of expense, an actual depreciation of the coin, a danger of still greater depreciation in the public opinion, the facilitating of counterfeits,—while it is questionable whether it would have the effect expected from it.

The alloy being esteemed of no value, an increase of it is evidently an increase of expense. This, in relation to the gold coins particularly, is a matter of moment. It has been noted that the alloy in them consists partly of silver. If, to avoid expense, the addition should be of copper only, this would spoil the appearance

of the coin and give it a base countenance. Its beauty would indeed be injured, though in a less degree, even if the usual proportions of silver and copper should be maintained in the increased quantity of alloy.

And, however inconsiderable an additional expenditure of copper in the coinage of a year may be deemed, in a series of years it would become of consequence. In regulations which contemplate the lapse and operation of ages a very small item of expense acquires importance.

The actual depreciation of the coin by an increase of alloy results from the very circumstance which is the motive to it,—the greater difficulty of refining. In England it is customary for those concerned in manufactures of gold to make a deduction in the price of four-pence sterling per ounce of fine gold for every carat which the mass containing it is below the legal standard. Taking this as a rule, an inferiority of a single carat, or one twenty-fourth part, in the gold coins of the United States, compared with the English standard, would cause the *same quantity* of pure gold in them to be worth nearly four-tenths per cent. less than in the coins of Great Britain. This circumstance would be likely in process of time to be felt in the market of the United States.

A still greater depreciation in the public opinion would be to be apprehended from the *apparent* debasement of the coin. The effects of imagination and prejudice cannot safely be disregarded in anything that relates to money. If the beauty of the coin be impaired, it may be found difficult to satisfy the generality of the community that what appears worse is not really less valuable, and it is not altogether certain that an impression of its being so may not occasion an unnatural augmentation of prices.

Greater danger of imposition by counterfeits is also to be apprehended from the injury which will be done to the appearance of the coin. It is a just observation that “the perfection of the coins is a great safeguard against counterfeits.” And it is evident that the color as well as the excellence of the workmanship is an ingredient in that perfection. The intermixture of too much alloy, particularly of copper, in the gold coins at least, must materially lessen the facility of distinguishing by the eye the purer from the baser kind, the genuine from the counterfeit.

The inefficacy of the arrangement to the purpose intended to be answered by it is rendered probable by different considerations. If the standard of plate in the United States should be regulated according to that of the national coins, it is to be expected that the goldsmith would prefer these to the foreign coins, because he would find them prepared to his hand in the state which he desires, whereas he would have to *expend* an additional quantity of alloy to bring the foreign coins to that state. If the standard of plate by law or usage should be superior to that of the national coins, there

would be a possibility of the foreign coins bearing a higher price in the market; and this would not only obstruct their being brought to the mint, but might occasion the exportation of the national coin in preference. It is not understood that the practice of making an abatement of price for the inferiority of standard is applicable to the English mint; and, if it be not, this would also contribute to frustrating the expected effect from the increase of alloy. For, in this case, a given quantity of pure metal in our standard would be worth as much there as in bullion of the English or any other standard.

Considering, therefore, the uncertainty of the success of the expedient and the inconveniences which seem incident to it, it would appear preferable to submit to those of a free coinage. It is observable that additional expense, which is one of the principal of these, is also applicable to the proposed remedy.

It is now proper to resume and finish the answer to the first question, in order to which the three succeeding ones have necessarily been anticipated. The conclusion to be drawn from the observations which have been made on the subject is this: That the unit in the coins of the United States ought to correspond with 24 grains and $\frac{3}{4}$ of a grain of pure gold, and with 371 grains and $\frac{1}{4}$ of a grain of pure silver, each answering to a dollar in the money of account. The former is exactly agreeable to the present value of gold, and the latter is within a small fraction of the mean of the two last emissions of dollars,—the only ones which are now found in common circulation, and of which the newest is in the greatest abundance; the alloy in each case to be one-twelfth of the total weight, which will make the unit 27 grains of standard gold and 405 grains of standard silver.

Each of these, it has been remarked, will answer to a dollar in the money of account. It is conceived that nothing better can be done in relation to this than to pursue the track marked out by the resolution of the 8th of August, 1786. This has been approved abroad as well as at home, and it is certain that nothing can be more simple and convenient than the decimal subdivisions. There is every reason to expect that the method will speedily grow into general use when it shall be seconded by corresponding coins. On this plan the unit in the money of account will continue to be, as established by that resolution, a dollar; and its multiples, dimes, cents, and mills, or tenths, hundredths, and thousandths.

With regard to the number of different pieces which shall compose the coins of the United States, two things are to be consulted,—convenience of circulation and cheapness of the coinage. The first ought not to be sacrificed to the last; but, as far as they can be reconciled to each other, it is desirable to do it. Numerous and small (if not too minute) subdivisions assist circulation; but the multiplication of the smaller kinds increases expense, the same process being necessary to a small as to a large piece.

As it is easy to add, it will be most advisable to begin with a small number till experience shall decide whether any other kinds are necessary. The following, it is conceived, will be sufficient in the commencement : —

One gold piece, equal in weight and value to ten units or dollars.

One gold piece, equal to a tenth part of the former, and which shall be a unit or dollar.

One silver piece, which shall also be a unit or dollar.

One silver piece, which shall be in weight and value a tenth part of the silver unit or dollar.

One copper piece, which shall be of the value of a hundredth part of a dollar.

One other copper piece, which shall be half the value of the former.

It is not proposed that the lighter piece of the two gold coins should be numerous, as, in large payments, the larger the pieces the shorter the process of counting, the less risk of mistake, and, consequently, the greater the safety and the convenience; and in small payments it is not perceived that any inconvenience can accrue from an entire dependence on the silver and copper coins. The chief inducement to the establishment of the small gold piece is to have a sensible object in that metal, as well as in silver, to express the unit. Fifty thousand at a time in circulation may suffice for this purpose.

The tenth part of a dollar is but a small piece, and, with the aid of the copper coins, will probably suffice for all the more minute uses of circulation. It is less than the least of the silver coins now in general currency in England.

The larger copper piece will nearly answer to the halfpenny sterling, and the smaller, of course, to the farthing. Pieces of very small value are a great accommodation and the means of a beneficial economy to the poor, by enabling them to purchase in small portions and at a more reasonable rate the necessities of which they stand in need. If there are only cents, the lowest price for any portion of a vendible commodity, however inconsiderable in quantity, will be a cent; if there are half cents, it will be a half-cent; and in a great number of cases exactly the same things will be sold for a half-cent, which, if there were none, would cost a cent. But a half-cent is low enough for the *minimum* of price. Excessive minuteness would defeat its object. To enable the poorer classes to procure necessities cheap is to enable them with more comfort to themselves to labor for less, the advantages of which need no comment.

The denominations of the silver coins contained in the resolution of the 8th of August, 1786, are conceived to be significant and proper. The dollar is recommended by its correspondency with the present coin of that name for which it is designed to be a substitute, which will facilitate its ready adoption as such in the minds of the citizens. The dime, or tenth, the cent, or hundredth, the mill, or

thousandth, are proper because they express the proportions which they are intended to designate. It is only to be regretted that the meaning of these terms will not be familiar to those who are not acquainted with the language from which they are borrowed. It were to be wished that the length and, in some degree, the clumsiness of some of the corresponding terms in English did not discourage from preferring them. It is useful to have names which signify the things to which they belong, and, in respect to objects of general use, in a manner intelligible to all. Perhaps it might be an improvement to let the dollar have the appellation either of dollar or unit (which latter will be the more significant), and to substitute "tenth" for dime. In time the unit may succeed to the dollar. The word cent being in use in various transactions and instruments will without much difficulty be understood as the hundredth, and the half-cent, of course, as the two-hundredth part.

The eagle is not a very expressive or apt appellation for the larger gold piece, but nothing better occurs. The smaller of the two gold coins may be called the dollar, or unit, in common with the silver piece with which it coincides.

The volume or size of each piece is a matter of more consequence than its denomination. It is evident that, the more superficies or surface, the more the piece will be liable to be injured by friction, or, in other words, the faster it will wear. For this reason it is desirable to render the thickness as great, in proportion to the breadth, as may consist with neatness and good appearance. Hence the form of the double guinea, or double louis d'or, is preferable to that of the half johannes, for the large gold piece. The small one cannot well be of any other size than the Portuguese piece of eight, of the same metal.

As it is of consequence to fortify the idea of the identity of the dollar, it may be best to let the form and size of the new one, as far as the quantity of matter (the alloy being less) permits, agree with the form and size of the present. The diameter may be the same.

The tenths may be in a mean between the Spanish $\frac{1}{8}$ and $\frac{1}{16}$ of a dollar.

The copper coins may be formed merely with a view to good appearance, as any difference in the wearing that can result from difference of form can be of little consequence in reference to that metal.

It is conceived that the weight of the cent may be eleven penny-weights, which will about correspond with the value of the copper and the expense of coinage. This will be to conform to the rule of intrinsic value, as far as regard to the convenient size of the coins will permit; and the deduction of the expense of coinage in this case will be the more proper, as the copper coins which have been current hitherto have passed till lately for much more than their intrinsic value. Taking the weight, as has been suggested, the size of the cent may be nearly that of the piece herewith transmitted, which

weighs 10 dwt. 11 grs. 10 m. Two-thirds of the diameter of the cent will suffice for the diameter of the half-cent.

It may, perhaps, be thought expedient, according to general practice, to make the copper coinage an object of profit; but, where this is done to any considerable extent, it is hardly possible to have effectual security against counterfeits. This consideration, concurring with the soundness of the principle of preserving the intrinsic value of the money of a country, seems to outweigh the consideration of profit.

The foregoing suggestions respecting the sizes of the several coins are made on the supposition that the legislature may think fit to regulate this matter. Perhaps, however, it may be judged not unadvisable to leave it to Executive discretion.

With regard to the proposed size of the cent it is to be confessed that it is rather greater than might be wished, if it could, with propriety and safety, be made less; and, should the value of copper continue to decline as it has done for some time past, it is very questionable whether it will long remain alone a fit metal for money. This has led to a consideration of the expediency of uniting a small proportion of silver with copper, in order to be able to lessen the bulk of the inferior coins. For this there are precedents in several parts of Europe. In France the composition which is called billon has consisted of one part silver and four parts copper, according to which proportion a cent might contain seventeen grains, defraying out of the material the expense of coinage. The conveniency of size is a recommendation of such a species of coin, but the Secretary is deterred from proposing it by the apprehension of counterfeits. The effect of so small a quantity of silver in comparatively so large a quantity of copper could easily be imitated by a mixture of other metals of little value, and the temptation to doing it would not be inconsiderable.

The devices of the coins are far from being matters of indifference, as they may be made the vehicles of useful impressions. They ought, therefore, to be emblematical, but without losing sight of simplicity. The fewer sharp points and angles there are, the less will be the loss by wearing. The Secretary thinks it best on this head to confine himself to these concise and general remarks.

The last point to be discussed respects the currency of foreign coins.

The abolition of this in proper season is a necessary part of the system contemplated for the national coinage. But this it will be expedient to defer till some considerable progress has been made in preparing substitutes for them. A gradation may therefore be found most convenient.

The foreign coins may be suffered to circulate precisely upon their present footing for one year after the mint shall have commenced its operations. The privilege may then be continued for another year

to the gold coins of Portugal, England, and France, and to the silver coins of Spain. And these may still be permitted to be current for one year more at the rates allowed to be given for them at the mint, after the expiration of which the circulation of all foreign coins to cease.

The moneys which will be paid into the treasury during the first year, being recoined before they are issued anew, will afford a partial substitute before any interruption is given to the pre-existing supplies of circulation. The revenues of the succeeding year and the coins which will be brought to the mint in consequence of the discontinuance of their currency will materially extend the substitute in the course of that year, and its extension will be so far increased during the third year by the facility of procuring the remaining species to be recoined, which will arise from the diminution of their current values, as probably to enable the dispensing wholly with the circulation of foreign coins after that period. The progress which the currency of bank-bills will be likely to have made during the same time will also afford a substitute of another kind.

This arrangement, besides avoiding a sudden stagnation of circulation, will cause a considerable proportion of whatever loss may be incident to the establishment in the first instance to fall as it ought to do upon the government, and will probably tend to distribute the remainder of it more equally among the community.

It may, nevertheless, be advisable in addition to the precautions here suggested to repose a discretionary authority in the President of the United States to continue the currency of the Spanish dollar, at a value corresponding with the quantity of fine silver contained in it, beyond the period above mentioned for the cessation of the circulation of the foreign coins. It is possible that an exception in favor of this particular species of coin may be found expedient; and it may tend to obviate inconveniences, if there be a power to make the exception, in a capacity to be exerted when the period shall arrive.

The Secretary for the Department of State, in his report to the House of Representatives on the subject of establishing a uniformity in the weights, measures, and coins of the United States, has proposed that the weight of the dollar should correspond with the unit of weight. This was done on the supposition that it would require but a very small addition to the quantity of metal which the dollar, independently of the object he had in view, ought to contain, in which he was guided by the resolution of the 8th of August, 1786, fixing the dollar at 375 grains and 64 hundredths of a grain.

Taking this as the proper standard of the dollar, a small alteration, for the sake of incorporating so systematic an idea, would appear desirable. But, if the principles which have been reasoned from in this report are just, the execution of that idea becomes more difficult. It would certainly not be advisable to make on that account so considerable a change in the money unit as would be

produced by the addition of five grains of silver to the proper weight of the dollar, without a proportional augmentation of its relative value; and to make such an augmentation would be to abandon the advantage of preserving the identity of the dollar, or, to speak more accurately, of having the proposed one received and considered as a mere substitute for the present.

The end may, however, be obtained without either of those inconveniences by increasing the proportion of alloy in the silver coins. But this would destroy the uniformity in that respect between the gold and silver coins. It remains, therefore, to elect which of the two systematic ideas shall be pursued or relinquished; and it may be remarked that it will be more easy to convert the present silver coins into the proposed ones if these last have the same or nearly the same proportion of alloy than if they have less.

Hamilton's first and second reports on the Public Credit, and his reports on Manufactures, on the National Bank, and on Coinage and the Mint, embody the substance of his financial policy, which controlled the national government at the beginning and has so largely affected the course of our subsequent politics. These reports, accompanied by useful notes, will all be found in the early volumes of Lodge's edition of Hamilton's works. Lodge's *Life of Hamilton*, in the "American Statesmen" series, is the most popular biography; chapter v. is devoted to an analysis and discussion of the great financial reports. There is a larger life in two volumes by John T. Morse, and a still more elaborate work by Hamilton's son, Mr. John C. Hamilton, entitled "The History of the Republic"; there is also a brief biography by Professor William G. Sumner, whose admiration for Hamilton as an economist and a financier is not so great as Mr. Lodge's. The report on the Coinage is here given entire, omitting only a few unimportant details as to the organization of the mint. Concerning this report, Mr. Lodge writes as follows:—

"This essay on coinage shows all Hamilton's thoroughness of treatment and clearness of thought and expression applied to an intricate and difficult series of questions. The most interesting feature of the report to us lies in Hamilton's advocacy of a double standard. His argument was moderate in tone. He fully admitted the necessity of conforming in this matter to the practice of other countries and of the commercial world and especially of England, with whom we had our largest dealings. He also frankly admitted the difficulties attendant on maintaining a proper ratio between the metals, so that one by being overvalued should not drive the other out. But, after all deductions and with full allowance for all possible risks, he comes clearly to the conclusion that in the long run greater steadiness is acquired by maintaining a double rather than a single standard, and that a better circulating medium, larger, more convenient, and less subject to dangerous fluctuations, is thus attained. This principle was adopted at the time, and with a short interval has been the policy of our government ever since. We now depart from the views expressed by Hamilton with reference to a double standard by disregarding our relations on this point with our principal customers and by grossly overvaluing the inferior metal. . . . The report as a whole is of interest as showing Hamilton's knowledge and industry in every branch of finance, and the general soundness of his views, which in this instance have been in the main closely followed ever since."

PUBLISHED BY
THE DIRECTORS OF THE OLD SOUTH WORK,
Old South Meeting-house, Boston, Mass.



William Penn's Plan for the Peace of Europe.

AN ESSAY TOWARDS THE PRESENT AND FUTURE PEACE OF EUROPE,
BY THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN EUROPEAN DYET, PARLIAMENT,
OR ESTATES.

Penn, William.

Beati Pacifici.

Cedant Arma Togæ.

READER,

TO THE READER.

I HAVE undertaken a Subject that I am very sensible requires one of more sufficiency than I am Master of to treat it, as, in Truth, it deserves, and the groaning State of Europe calls for; but since Bunglers may Stumble upon the Game, as well as Masters, though it belongs to the Skilful to hunt and catch it, I hope this Essay will not be charged upon me for a Fault, if it appear to be neither Chimerical nor Injurious, and may provoke abler Pens to improve and perform the Design with better Judgment and Success. I will say no more in Excuse of myself, for this Undertaking, but that it is the Fruit of my solicitous Thoughts, for the Peace of Europe, and they must want Charity as much as the World needs Quiet, to be offended with me for so Pacifick a Proposal. Let them censure my Management, so they prosecute the Advantage of the Design; for' till the Millenary Doctrine be accomplished, there is nothing appears to me so beneficial an Expedient to the Peace and Happiness of this Quarter of the World.

AN ESSAY TOWARDS THE PRESENT AND FUTURE PEACE OF
EUROPE, &c.

SECT. I. *Of Peace, and its Advantages.*

He must not be a Man, but a Statue of Brass or Stone, whose Bowels do not melt when he beholds the bloody *Tragedies* of this War, in *Hungary, Germany, Flanders, Ireland*, and at Sea:

the Mortality of sickly and languishing Camps and Navies, and the mighty prey the Devouring Winds and Waves have made upon Ships and Men since 88. And as this with Reason ought to affect human Nature, and deeply Kindred, so there is something very moving that becomes prudent Men to consider, and that is the vast Charge that has accompanied that Blood, and which makes no mean Part of these *Tragedies*; Especially if they deliberate upon the uncertainty of the War, that they know not how or when it will end, and that the Expence cannot be less, and the Hazard is as great as before. So that in the Contrairies of Peace we see the Beauties and Benefits of it; which under it, such is the Unhappiness of Mankind, we are too apt to nauseate, as the full Stomach loaths the Honey-Comb; and like that unfortunate Gentleman, that having a fine and a good Woman to his Wife, and searching his Pleasure in forbidden and less agreeable Company, said, when reproach'd with his Neglect of better Enjoyments, *That he could love his Wife of all Women, if she were not his Wife*, tho' that increased his Obligation to prefer her. It is a great Mark of the Corruption of our Natures, and what ought to humble us extremely, and excite the Exercise of our Reason to a nobler and juster Sense, that we cannot see the Use and Pleasure of our Comforts but by the Want of them. As if we could not taste the Benefit of Health, but by the Help of Sickness; nor understand the Satisfaction of Fulness without the Instruction of Want; nor, finally, know the Comfort of Peace, but by the Smart and Penance of the Vices of War: And without Dispute that is not the least Reason that God is pleased to Chastise us so frequently with it. What can we desire better than *Peace*, but the *Grace* to use it? *Peace* preserves our Possessions; We are in no Danger of Invasions: Our Trade is free and safe, and we rise and lye down without Anxiety. The Rich bring out their Hoards, and employ the poor Manufacturers; Buildings and divers Projections, for Profit and Pleasure, go on: It excites Industry, which brings Wealth, as that gives the Means of Charity and Hospitality, not the lowest Ornaments of a Kingdom or Commonwealth. But War, like the Frost of 83, seizes all these Comforts at once, and stops the civil Channel of Society. The Rich draw in their Stock, the Poor turn Soldiers, or Thieves, or Starve: No Industry, no Building, no Manufactory, little Hospitality or Charity; but what the Peace gave, the War devours. I need say no more

upon this Head, when the Advantages of Peace, and Mischiefs of War, are so many and sensible to every Capacity under all Governments, as either of them prevails. I shall proceed to the next Point. *What is the best Means of Peace*; which will conduce much to open my Way to what I have to propose.

SECT. II. *Of the Means of Peace, which is Justice rather than War.*

As *Justice* is a Preserver, so it is a better Procurer of Peace than War. Tho' *Pax quæritur bello*, be an usual Saying, *Peace is the end of War*, and as such it was taken up by O. C. for his Motto. Yet the Use generally made of that expression shews us, that properly and truly speaking, Men seek their Wills by *War* rather than Peace, and that as they will violate it to obtain them, so they will hardly be brought to think of Peace, unless their Appetites be some Way gratified. If we look over the Stories of all Times, we shall find the Aggressors generally moved by Ambition; the Pride of Conquest and Greatness of Dominion more than Right. But as those *Leviathans* appear rarely in the World, so I shall anon endeavour to make it evident they had never been able to devour the Peace of the World, and ingross whole Countries as they have done, if the *Proposal* I have to make for the Benefit of our present Age had been then in Practice. The Advantage that Justice has upon War is seen by the Success of *Embassies*, that so often prevent War by hearing the *Pleas* and *Memorials* of *Justice* in the Hands and Mouths of the *Wronged Party*. Perhaps it may be in a good Degree owing to *Reputation* or *Poverty*, or some Particular *Interest* or *Conveniency* of *Princes* and *States*, as much as *Justice*; but it is certain, that as War cannot in any Sense be justified, but upon Wrongs received, and Right, upon Complaint, refused; So the Generality of Wars have their Rise from some such Pretension. This is better seen and understood at Home; for that which prevents a Civil War in a Nation, is that which may prevent it Abroad, *viz: Justice*; and we see where that is notably obstructed, War is kindled between the *Magistrates* and *People* in particular Kingdoms and States; which, however it may be unlawful on the side of the *People*, we see never fails to follow, and ought to give the same Caution to *Princes* as if it were the Right of the People to do it: Tho' I must needs say, *the Remedy is almost ever worse*

than the Disease: The Aggressors seldom getting what they seek, or performing, if they prevail, what they promised: And the *Blood and Poverty* that usually attend the Enterprize, weigh more on Earth, as well as in Heaven, than what they lost or suffered, or what they get by endeavouring to mend their *Condition*, comes to: Which *Disappointment* seems to be the Voice of Heaven, and Judgment of God against those violent Attempts. But to return, I say, *Justice is the Means of Peace*, betwixt the *Government* and the *People*, and one *Man* and *Company* and another. It prevents *Strife*, and at last ends it: For besides *Shame* or *Fear*, to contend longer, he or they being under *Government*, are constrained to bound their *Desires* and *Resentment* with the *Satisfaction* the Law gives. Thus *Peace* is maintained by *Justice*, which is a Fruit of *Government*, as *Government* is from *Society*, and *Society* from *Consent*.

SECT. III. *Government, its Rise and End under all Models.*

Government is an Expedient against *Confusion*; a Restraint upon all *Disorder*; Just Weights and an even Balance: That one may not injure another, nor himself, by *Intemperance*.

This was at first without *Controversie*, *Patrimonial*, and upon the Death of the Father or Head of the Family, the eldest Son or Male of Kin succeeded. But Time breaking in upon this Way of Governing, as the World multiply'd, it fell under other *Claims* and *Forms*; and is as hard to trace to its Original, as are the Copies we have of the first Writings of *Sacred* or *Civil* Matters. It is certain the most Natural and Human is that of *Consent*, for that binds freely, (as I may say) when Men hold their *Liberty* by true *Obedience* to Rules of their own making. No Man is Judge in his own Cause, which ends the *Confusion* and *Blood* of so many *Judges* and *Executioners*. For out of *Society* every Man is his own *King*, does what he lists at his own Peril: But when he comes to incorporate himself, he submits that *Royalty* to the *Conveniency* of the *Whole*, from whom he receives the Returns of *Protection*. So that he is not now his own Judge nor Avenger, neither is his *Antagonist*, but the *Law*, in indifferent Hands between both. And if he be Servant to others that before was free, he is also served of others that formerly owed him no *Obligation*. Thus while we are not our own, every Body is ours, and we get more than we lose, the Safety of the *Society* being the Safety of the *Particulars*

that constitute it. So that while we seem to submit to, and hold all we have from *Society*, it is by *Society* that we keep what we have.

Government then is the *Prevention* or *Cure* of *Disorder*, and the Means of *Justice*, as that is of *Peace*: For this Cause they have *Sessions*, *Terms*, *Assizes*, and *Parliaments*, to overrule Men's *Passions* and *Resentments*, that they may not be *Judges* in their own *Cause*, nor *Punishers* of their own *Wrongs*, which, as it is very incident to Men in their *Corrupt State*, so, for that Reason, they would observe no Measure; nor on the other Hand would any be easily reduced to their Duty. Not that Men know not what is right, their Excesses, and wherein they are to blame, by no Means; nothing is plainer to them: But so depraved is Human Nature, that without Compulsion some Way or other, too many would not readily be brought to do what they know is right and fit, or avoid what they are satisfy'd they should not do: Which brings me near to the Point I have undertaken; and for the better Understanding of which, I have thus briefly treated of *Peace*, *Justice*, and *Government* as a necessary *Introduction*, because the Ways and Methods by which *Peace* is preserved in particular *Governments*, will help those *Readers*, most concerned in my Proposal, to conceive with what Ease as well as Advantage the Peace of *Europe* might be procured and kept; which is the End designed by me, with all Submission to those Interested in this little *Treatise*:

SECT. IV. *Of a General Peace, or the Peace of Europe, and the Means of it.*

In my first Section, I shewed the *Desirableness* of *Peace*; in my next the Truest Means of it; to wit, *Justice*, not *War*. And in my last, that this Justice was the Fruit of *Government*, as *Government* itself was the Result of *Society*: which first came from a Reasonable Design in Men of Peace. Now if the *Sovereign Princes of Europe*, who represent that Society, or Independent State of Men that was previous to the Obligations of Society, would, for the same Reason that engaged Men first into Society, *viz*: *Love of Peace and Order*, agree to meet by their Stated Deputies in a *General Dyet*, *Estates*, or *Parliament*, and there Establish Rules of Justice for Sovereign Princes to observe one to another; and thus to meet Yearly,

or once in Two or Three Years at farthest, or as they shall see Cause, and to be Stiled, *The Sovereign or Imperial Dyet, Parliament, or State of Europe*; before which Sovereign Assembly, should be brought all Differences depending between one Sovereign and another, that cannot be made up by private Embassies, before the Sessions begin; and that if any of the Sovereignities that Constitute these Imperial States, shall refuse to submit their Claim or Pretensions to them, or to abide and perform the Judgment thereof, and seek their Remedy by Arms, or delay their Compliance beyond the Time prefixt in their Resolutions, all the other Sovereignities, United as One Strength, shall compel the Submission and Performance of the Sentence, with Damages to the Suffering Party, and Charges to the Sovereignities that obliged their Submission. To be sure, *Europe* would quietly obtain the so much desired and needed Peace, to *Her harassed Inhabitants*; no Sovereignty in *Europe*, having the Power, and therefore cannot show the Will to dispute the Conclusion; and, consequently, *Peace* would be procured, and continued in *Europe*.

SECT. V. *Of the Causes of Difference, and Motives to Violate Peace.*

There appears to me but Three Things upon which Peace is broken, viz: To *Keep*, to *Recover*, or to *Add*. *First*, to Keep what is One's Right, from the Invasion of an Enemy; in which I am purely *Defensive*. *Secondly*, To Recover, when I think myself Strong enough, that which by Violence, I, or my Ancestors have lost by the Arms of a Stronger Power; in which I am *Offensive*; Or, *Lastly*, To increase my Dominion by the Acquisition of my Neighbour's Countries, as I find them Weak, and myself Strong. To gratify which Passion, there will never want some Accident or other for a Pretence: And knowing my own Strength, I will be my own *Judge and Carver*. This *Last* will find no Room in the *Imperial States*: They are an unpassable Limit to that Ambition. But the other *Two* may come as soon as they please, and find the Justice of that Sovereign Court. And considering how few there are of those *Sons of Prey*, and how early they show themselves, it may be not once in an Age or Two, this Expedition being Established, the Ballance cannot well be broken.

SECT. VI. *Of Titles, upon which those Differences may arise.*

But I easily foresee a Question that may be answered in our Way, and that is this; *What is Right? Or else we can never know what is Wrong: It is very fit that this should be Established.* But that is fitter for the Sovereign States to resolve than me. And yet that I may lead a Way to the Matter, I say that Title is either by a long and *undoubted Succession*, as the Crowns of *Spain, France, and England*; or by *Election*, as the Crown of *Poland*, and the *Empire*; or by *Marriage*, as the Family of the *Stewarts* came by *England*; the *Elector of Brandenburg*, to the Dutchy of *Cleve*: and we, in Ancient Time, to divers Places abroad; or, by *Purchase*, as hath been frequently done in *Italy and Germany*; or by *Conquest*, as the *Turk* in *Christendom*, the *Spaniards* in *Flanders*, formerly mostly in the *French Hands*; and the *French* in *Burgundy, Normandy, Lorrain, French-County, &c.* This last Title is, Morally Speaking, only Questionable. It has indeed obtained a Place among the Rolls of Titles, but it was engross'd and recorded by the Point of the Sword, and in Bloody Characters. What cannot be controuled or resisted, must be submitted to; but all the World knows the Date of the length of such Empires, and that they expire with the Power of the Possessor to defend them. And yet there is a little allowed to Conquest to, when it has the Sanction of Articles of Peace to confirm it: Tho' that hath not always extinguished the Fire, but it lies, like Embers under Ashes, ready to kindle so soon as there is fit Matter prepared for it. Nevertheless, when Conquest has been confirmed by a Treaty, and Conclusion of Peace, I must confess it is an Adopted Title; and if not so Genuine and Natural, yet being engrafted, it is fed by that which is the Security of *Better Titles, Consent.* There is but one Thing more to be mentioned in this Section, and that is from what Time Titles shall take their Beginning, or how far back we may look to confirm or dispute them. It would be very bold and inexcusable in me, to determine so tender a Point, but be it more or less Time, as to the last General Peace at *Nimeguen*, or to the commencing of this War, or to the Time of the Beginning of the Treaty of Peace, I must submit it to the Great Pretenders and Masters in that Affair. But something every Body must be willing to give or quit, that he may keep the rest, and by this Establishment, be forever freed of the Necessity of losing more.

SECT. VII. *Of the Composition of these Imperial States.*

The Composition and Proportion of this *Sovereign Part*, or *Imperial State*, does, at the first Look, seem to carry with it no small Difficulty what Votes to allow for the Inequality of the Princes and States. But with Submission to better Judgments, I cannot think it invincible; For if it be possible to have an Estimate of the Yearly Value of the several Sovereign Countries, whose delegates are to make up this August Assembly, the Determination of the Number of Persons or Votes in the States for every Sovereignty, will not be impracticable. Now that *England, France, Spain, the Empire, &c.* may be pretty exactly estimated, is so plain a Case, by considering the Revenue of Lands, the Exports and Entries at the Custom Houses, the Books of Rates, and Surveys that are in all Governments, to proportion Taxes for the Support of them, that the least Inclination to the *Peace of Europe*, will not stand or halt at this Objection. I will, with Pardon on all Sides, give an Instance far from Exact; nor do I pretend to it, or offer it for an Estimate; for I do it at Random: Only this, as wide as it is from the Just Proportion, will give some Aim to my *Judicious Reader*, what I would be at: Remembering, I design not by any Computation, an Estimate from the Revenue of the Prince, but the Value of the Territory, the Whole being concerned as well as the Prince. And a Juster Measure it is to go by, since one Prince may have more Revenue than another, who has much a Richer Country: Tho' in the Instance I am now about to make, the Caution is not so Necessary, because, as I said before, I pretend to no Manner of Exactness, but go wholly by Guess, being but for Example's Sake. I suppose the *Empire of Germany* to send Twelve; *France*, Ten; *Spain*, Ten; *Italy*, which comes to *France*, Eight; *England*, Six; *Portugal*, Three; *Swedland*, Four; *Denmark*, Three; *Poland*, Four; *Venice*, Three; the *Seven Provinces*, Four; *The Thirteen Cantons*; and little *Neighbouring Sovereignities*, Two; *Duke-doms of Holstein and Courland*, One: And if the *Turks* and *Muscovites* are taken in, as seems but fit and just, they will make *Ten a Piece more*. The *Whole makes Ninety*. A great Presence when they represent the *Fourth; and now the Best and Wealthiest Part of the Known World; where Religion and Learning, Civility and Arts have their Seat and Empire*. But it is not absolutely necessary there should be always so many

Persons, to represent the larger Sovereignities ; for the Votes may be given by one Man of any Sovereignty, as well as by Ten or Twelve : Tho' the fuller the Assembly of States is, the more Solemn, Effectual, and Free the Debates will be, and the Resolutions must needs come with greater Authority. The Place of their First Session should be Central, as much as is possible, afterwards as they agree.

SECT. VIII. *Of the Regulations of the Imperial States in Session.*

To avoid Quarrel for Precedency, the Room may be Round, and have divers Doors to come in and go out at, to prevent Exceptions. If the whole Number be cast in Tens, each chusing One, they may preside by Turns, to whom all Speeches should be addressed, and who should collect the Sense of the Debates, and state the Question for a Vote, which, in my Opinion, should be by the *Ballot* after the Prudent and Commendable Method of the *Venetians* : Which, in a great Degree, prevents the ill Effects of Corruption ; because if any of the Delegates of that High and Mighty Estates could be so Vile, False, and Dishonourable, as to be influenced by Money, they have the Advantage of taking their Money that will give it them, and of Voting undiscovered to the Interest of their Principals, and their own Inclinations ; as they that do understand the *Balloting Box* do very well know. A Shrewd Stratagem, and an Experimental Remedy against *Corruption*, at least Corrupting : For who will give their Money where they may so easily be Cozened, and where it is Two to One they will be so ; for they that will take Money in such Cases, will not stick to Lye heartily to them that give it, rather than wrong their Country, when they know their Lye cannot be detected.

It seems to me, that nothing in this *Imperial Parliament* should pass, but by Three Quarters of the Whole, at least Seven above the Ballance. I am sure it helps to prevent Treachery, because if Money could ever be a Temptation in such a Court, it would cost a great Deal of Money to weigh down the wrong Scale. All Complaints should be delivered in Writing, in the Nature of *Memorials* ; and *Journals* kept by a proper Person, in a *Trunk or Chest*, which should have as many differing Locks, as there are *Tens in the States*. And if there were a *Clerk for each Ten*, and a *Pew or Table for those Clerks in the Assembly* ; and at the End of every Session, One

out of each Ten, were appointed to Examine and Compare the *Journal of those Clerks*, and then lock them up as I have before expressed, it would be clear and Satisfactory. And each Sovereignty if they please, as is but very fit, may have an *Exemplification*, or *Copy of the said Memorials*, and the *Journal of Proceedings upon them*. The *Liberty and Rules of Speech* to be sure, they cannot fail in, who will be *Wisest* and *Noblest* of each Sovereignty, for its own Honour and Safety. If any Difference can arise between those that come from the same Sovereignty, that then One of the Major Number do give the Balls of that Sovereignty. I should think it extreamly necessary, that every Sovereignty should be present under great Penalties, and that none leave the Session without Leave, till *All* be finished; and that Neutralities in Debates should by no Means be endured: For any such Latitude will quickly open a Way to unfair Proceedings, and be followed by a Train, both of seen and unseen Inconveniences. I will say little of the *Language* in which the *Session of the Sovereign Estates* should be held, but to be sure it must be in *Latin or French*; the first would be very well for *Civilians*, but the last most easie for Men of Quality.

SECT. IX. *Of the Objections that may be advanced against the Design.*

I will first give an Answer to the Objections that may be offered against my *Proposal*: And in my next and last Section, I shall endeavour to shew some of the manifold Conveniences that would follow this *European League*, or *Confederacy*.

The first of them is this, *That the strongest and Richest Sovereignty will never agree to it, and if it should, there would be Danger of Corruption more than of Force one Time or other*. I answer to the first Part, he is not stronger than all the rest, and for that Reason you should promote this, and compel him into it; especially before he be so, for then, it will be too late to deal with such an one. To the last Part of the Objection, I say the Way is as open now as then; and it may be the Number fewer, and as easily come at. However, if Men of Sense and Honour, and Substance, are chosen, they will either scorn the Baseness, or have wherewith to pay for the Knavery: At least they may be watch't so, that one may be a check upon the other, and all prudently limited by the Sovereignty they

Represent. In all great Points, especially before a final Resolve, they may be obliged to transmit to their Principals, the Merits of such important Cases depending, and receive their last Instructions: which may be done in four and Twenty Days at the most, as the Place of their Session may be appointed.

The Second is, *That it will endanger an Effeminacy by such a Disuse of the Trade of Soldiery; That if there should be any Need for it, upon any Occasion we should be at a Loss as they were in Holland in 72.*

There can be no Danger of Effeminacy, because each Sovereignty may introduce as temperate or Severe a Discipline in the Education of Youth, as they please, by low Living, and due Labour. Instruct them in Mechanical Knowledge, and in Natural Philosophy, by Operation, which is the Honour of the *German Nobility*. This would make them Men: Neither *Women* nor *Lyons*: For *Soldiers* are t'other Extream to Effeminacy. But the Knowledge of Nature, and the useful as well as agreeable Operations of Art, give Men an Understanding of themselves, of the World they are born into, how to be useful and serviceable, both to themselves and others: and how to save and help, not injure or destroy. The Knowledge of Government in General; the particular Constitutions of *Europe*; and above all of his own Country, are very recommending Accomplishments. This fits him for the *Parliament*, and *Council at Home*, and the *Courts of Princes and Services* in the *Imperial States abroad*. At least, he is a good Common-Wealths-Man, and can be useful to the Publick, or retire, as there may be Occasion.

To the other Part of the Objection, *of being at a loss for Soldiery as they were in Holland in 72.* The Proposal answers for itself. One has War no more than the other; and will be as much to seek upon Occasion. Nor is it to be thought that any one will keep up such an Army after such an *Empire* is on Foot, which may hazard the Safety of the rest. However, if it be seen requisit, the Question may be askt, by Order of the Sovereign States, why such an one either raises or keeps up a formidable Body of Troops, and he obliged forthwith to reform or Reduce them; lest any one, by keeping up a great Body of Troops, should surprize a Neighbour. But a small Force in every other Sovereignty, as it is capable or accustomed to maintain, will certainly prevent that Danger, and Vanquish any such Fear.

The Third Objection is, *That there will be great Want of Employment for younger Brothers of Families; and that the Poor must either turn Soldiers or Thieves.* I have answer'd that in my Return to the Second Objection. We shall have the more *Merchants and Husbandmen, or Ingenious Naturalists*, if the Government be but any Thing Solicitous of the *Education of their Youth*: Which, next to the present and immediate Happiness of any Country, ought of all Things, to be the *Care and Skill* of the Government. For such as the Youth of any Country is bred, such is the next Generation, and the Government in good or bad Hands.

I am come now to the last Objection, *That Sovereign Princes and States will hereby become not Sovereign: a Thing they will never endure.* But this also, under Correction, is a Mistake, for they remain as Sovereign at Home as ever they were. Neither their Power over their People, nor the usual Revenue they pay them, is diminished: It may be the War Establishment may be reduced, which will indeed of Course follow, or be better employed to the Advantage of the Publick. So that the *Sovereignties* are as they were, for none of them have now any Sovereignty over one another: And if this be called a lessening of their Power, it must be only because the great Fish can no longer eat up the little ones, and that each Sovereignty is *equally defended* from Injuries, and disabled from committing them: *Cedant Arma Togæ* is a Glorious Sentence; the *Voice of the Dove; the Olive Branch of Peace.* A Blessing so great, that when it pleases God to chastise us severely for our Sins, it is with the *Rod of War* that, for the most Part, he whips us: And Experience tells us none leaves deeper Marks behind it.

SECT. X. *Of the real Benefits that flow from this Proposal about Peace.*

I am come to my last Section, in which I shall enumerate some of those many *real Benefits* that flow from this Proposal, for the Present and Future *Peace of Europe.*

Let it not, I pray, be the least, that it prevents the Spilling of so much *Humane and Christian Blood*: For a Thing so offensive to God, and terrible and afflicting to Men, as that has ever been, must recommend our Expedient beyond all Objections. For what can a Man give in Exchange for his Life, as

well as Soul? And tho' the chiefest in Government are seldom personally exposed, yet it is a Duty incumbent upon them to be tender of the Lives of their People; since without all Doubt, they are accountable to God for the Blood that is spilt in their Service. So that besides the Loss of so many Lives, of importance to any Government, both for Labour and Propagation, the Cries of so many Widows, Parents and Fatherless are prevented, that cannot be very pleasant in the Ears of any Government, and is the *Natural Consequence of War in all Government.*

There is another *manifest Benefit* which redounds to *Christendom*, by this *Peaceable Expedient*, *The Reputation of Christianity will in some Degree be recovered in the Sight of Infidels*; which, by the many Bloody and unjust *Wars of Christians*, not only with them, but *one with another*, hath been greatly impaired. For, to the Scandal of that Holy Profession, *Christians*, that glory in their *Saviour's Name*, have long devoted the Credit and Dignity of it, to their worldly Passions, as often as they have been excited by the Impulses of Ambition or Revenge. They have not always been in the Right: Nor has Right been the Reason of *War*: And not only *Christians* against *Christians*, but the same Sort of *Christians* have embrewed *their Hands in one another's Blood*: 'Invoking and Interesting, all they could, the *Good and Merciful God to prosper their Arms to their Brethren's Destruction*: Yet their *Saviour* has told them, *that he came to save, and not to destroy the Lives of Men*: To give and plant *Peace* among Men: And if in any Sense he may be said to send *War*, it is the *Holy War* indeed; for it is against the *Devil*, and not the *Persons of Men*. Of all his Titles this seems the most Glorious as well as comfortable for us, that he is the *Prince of Peace*. It is his *Nature*, his *Office*, his *Work*, and the *End*, and excellent Blessing of his Coming, who is both the Maker and Preserver of our *Peace* with God. And it is very remarkable, that in all the *New Testament* he is but once called *Lyon*, but frequently the *Lamb of God*; to denote to us his *Gentle, Meek, and Harmless Nature*; and that those who desire to be the *Disciples* of his *Cross and Kingdom*, for they are *inseparable*, must be like him, as *St. Paul*, *St. Peter*, and *St. John*, tell us. Nor is it said the *Lamb* shall lye down with the *Lyon*, but the *Lyon* shall lye down with the *Lamb*. That is, *War* shall yield to *Peace*, and the Soldier turn Hermit. To be sure, *Christians* should not be apt to strive, not

swift to Anger against any Body, and less with one another, and least of all for the uncertain and fading Enjoyments of this Lower World: And no Quality is exempted from this Doctrine. Here is a wide Field for the Reverend Clergy of *Europe* to act their Part in, who have so much the Possession of Princes and People too. May they recommend and labour this pacifick Means I offer, which will end Blood, if not Strife; and then *Reason*, upon free Debate, will be *Judge*, and not the *Sword*. So that both *Right* and *Peace*, which are the Desire and Fruit of wise Governments, and the choice Blessings of any Country, seem to succeed the Establishment of this Proposal.

The third Benefit is, that it saves *Money*, both to the Prince and People; and thereby prevents those Grudgings and Misunderstandings between them that are wont to follow the devouring Expences of *War*; and enables both to perform Publick Acts for *Learning*, *Charity*, *Manufactures*, &c. The Virtues of Government and Ornaments of Countries. Nor is this all the *Advantage* that follows to *Soveraignties*, upon this *Head* of Money and good *Husbandry*, to whose Service and Happiness this short Discourse is dedicated; for it saves the great Expence that frequent and splendid Embassies require, and all their Appendages of *Spies* and *Intelligence*, which in the most prudent Governments, have devoured mighty Sums of Money; and that not without some *immoral Practices* also: Such as *Corrupting* of *Servants* to betray their *Masters*, by revealing their Secrets; not to be defended by *Christian* or *Old Roman Virtues*. But here, where there is nothing to fear, there is little to know, and therefore the *Purchase* is either *cheap*, or may be wholly *spared*. I might mention *Pensions* to the *Widows* and *Orphans* of such as dye in Wars, and of those that have been *disabled* in them; which rise high in the Revenue of some Countries.

Our fourth Advantage is, that the *Towns*, *Cities*, and *Countries*, that might be laid waste by the *Rage* of *War*, are thereby *preserved*: A Blessing that would be very well understood in *Flanders* and *Hungary*, and indeed upon all the *Borders* of *Soveraignties*, which are almost ever the *Stages* of Spoil and Misery; of which the Stories of *England* and *Scotland* do sufficiently inform us without looking over the *Water*.

The fifth Benefit of this Peace, is the *Ease* and *Security* of *Travel* and *Traffick*: An Happiness never understood since the

Roman Empire has been broken into so many *Sovereignities*. But we may easily conceive the Comfort and *Advantage* of travelling through the Governments of *Europe* by a *Pass* from any of the *Sovereignities* of it, which this League and State of *Peace* will naturally make *Authentick*: They that have travel'd *Germany*, where is so great a Number of *Sovereignities*, know the Want and Value of this Priviledge, by the many *Stops and Examinations* they meet with by the Way: But especially such as have made the *great Tour of Europe*. This leads to the Benefit of an *Universal Monarchy*, without the Inconveniences that attend it: For when the whole was one *Empire*, tho' these Advantages were enjoyed, yet the several Provinces, that now make the *Kingdoms and States of Europe*, were under some Hardship from the great Sums of *Money* remitted to the Imperial Seat, and the Ambition and Avarice of their several *Proconsuls* and *Governours*, and the great *Taxes* they paid to the *Numerous Legions of Soldiers*, that they maintained for their own Subjection, who were not wont to entertain that Concern for them (being uncertainly there, and having their Fortunes to make) which their respective and proper *Sovereigns* have always shown for them. So that to be *Ruled by Native Princes or States*, with the Advantage of that Peace and Security that can only render an *Universal Monarchy desirable*, is peculiar to our Proposal, and for that Reason it is to be preferred.

Another Advantage is, *The Great Security it will be to Christians against the Inroads of the Turk, in their most Prosperous Fortune*. For it had been impossible for the *Port*, to have prevailed so often, and so far upon *Christendom*, but by the Carelessness, or Wilful Connivence, if not Aid, of some *Christian Princes*. And for the same Reason, why no *Christian Monarch* will adventure to oppose, or break such an Union, the *Grand Seignior* will find himself obliged to concur, for the Security of what he holds in *Europe*: Where, with all his Strength, he would feel it an Over-Match for him. *The Prayers, Tears, Treason, Blood and Devastation, that War has cost in Christendom, for these Two last Ages especially, must add to the Credit of our Proposal, and the Blessing of the Peace thereby humbly recommended.*

The Seventh Advantage of an *European, Imperial Dyet, Parliament, or Estates*, is, *That it will beget and increase Personal Friendship between Princes and States*, which tends to the Rooting up of Wars, and Planting Peace in a Deep and Fruit-

ful Soil. For Princes have the Curiosity of seeing the Courts and Cities of other Countries, as well as Private Men, if they could as securely and familiarly gratify their Inclinations. It were a great Motive to the Tranquility of the World, *That they could freely Converse Face to Face, and Personally and Reciprocally Give and Receive Marks of Civility and Kindness.* An Hospitality that leaves these Impressions behind it, will hardly let Ordinary Matters prevail, to Mistake or Quarrel one another. Their *Emulation would be in the Instances of Goodness, Laws, Customs, Learning, Arts, Buildings;* and in particular those that relate to *Charity*, the True Glory of some Governments, where Beggars are as much a Rarity, as in other Places it would be to see none.

Nor is this all the Benefit that would come by this *Freedom and Interview of Princes*: For *Natural Affection* would hereby be preserved, which we see little better than lost, *from the Time their Children, or Sisters, are Married into other Courts.* For the present State and Insincerity of Princes forbid them the Enjoyment of that Natural Comfort which is possest by Private Families: Insomuch, that from the Time a Daughter, or Sister is Married to another Crown, Nature is submitted to Interest, and that, for the most Part, grounded not upon Solid or Commendable Foundations, but *Ambition, or Unjust Avarice.* I say, this Freedom, that is the Effect of our Pacifick Proposal, restores *Nature* to Her Just Right and Dignity in the Families of Princes, and them to the Comfort She brings, wherever She is preserved in Her proper Station. Here *Daughters* may Personally intreat their *Parents*, and *Sisters* their *Brothers*, for a good Understanding between them and their *Husbands*, where Nature, not crush'd by Absence, and Sinister Interests, but acting by the Sight and Lively Entreaties of such near Relations, is almost sure to prevail. They cannot easily resist the most affectionate Addresses of such powerful Solicitors, *as their Children, and Grand-Children, and their Sisters, Nephews, and Nieces:* And so backward from *Children to Parents, and Sisters to Brothers*, to keep up and preserve their own Families, by a good Understanding between their Husbands and them.

To conclude this Section, there is yet another Manifest Privilege that follows this *Intercourse* and Good Understanding, which methinks should be very moving with Princes, viz. *That hereby they may chuse Wives for themselves*, such as they Love, and not by *Proxy* meerly to gratify Interest; an ignoble

Motive; and that rarely begets, or continues that *Kindness* which ought to be between Men and their Wives. A Satisfaction very few Princes ever knew, and to which all other Pleasures ought to resign. Which has often obliged me to think, *That the Advantage of Private Men upon Princes, by Family Comforts, is a sufficient Ballance against their Greater Power and Glory: The one being more in Imagination, than Real; and often Unlawful; but the other, Natural, Solid, and Commendable.* Besides, it is certain, Parents Loving Well before they are Married, which very rarely happens to Princes, *has Kind and Generous Influences upon their Offspring: Which, with their Example, makes them better Husbands, and Wives, in their Turn.* This, in great Measure, prevents Unlawful Love, and the Mischiefs of those Intrigues that are wont to follow them: What *Hatred, Feuds, Wars, and Desolations have, in divers Ages, flown from Unkindness between Princes and their Wives? What Unnatural Divisions among their Children, and Ruin to their Families, if not Loss of their Countries by it?* Behold an Expedient to prevent it, a Natural and Efficacious One: Happy to Princes, and Happy to their People also. For Nature being renewed and strengthened by these Mutual Pledges and Endearments, I have mentioned, will leave those soft and kind Impressions behind in the Minds of Princes that *Court and Country* will very easily discern and feel the Good Effects of: Especially if they have the Wisdom to show that they Interest themselves in the Prosperity of the Children and Relations of their Princes. For it does not only incline them to be Good, but engage those Relations to become Powerful Suitors to their Princes for them, if any Misunderstanding should unhappily arise between them and their *Sovereigns*: Thus ends this *Section*. It now rests to conclude the Discourse, in which, if I have not pleased my *Reader*, or answered his Expectation, it is some Comfort to me I meant well, and have cost him but little Money and Time; and Brevity is an Excuse, if not a Virtue, where the Subject is not agreeable, or is but ill prosecuted.

THE CONCLUSION.

I Will conclude this *my Proposal of an European, Sovereign, or Imperial Dyet, Parliament, or Estates*, with that which I have touch'd upon before, and which falls under the Notice of

every One concerned, by coming Home to their Particular and Respective Experience within their own *Sovereignities*. That by the same *Rules of Justice and Prudence*, by which Parents and Masters Govern their Families, and Magistrates their Cities, and Estates their Republicks, and Princes and Kings their Principalities and Kingdoms, *Europe* may Obtain and Preserve *Peace among Her Sovereignities*. For Wars are the *Duels of Princes*; and as Government in Kingdoms and States, *Prevents Men being Judges and Executioners for themselves*, over-rules Private Passions as to Injuries or Revenge, and subjects the Great as well as the Small to the *Rule of Justice*, that Power might not vanquish or oppress Right, nor one Neighbour act an *Independency and Sovereignty upon another*, while they have resigned that Original Claim to the Benefit and Comfort of Society; so this being soberly weighed in the Whole, and Parts of it, it will not be hard to conceive or frame, nor yet to execute the Design I have here proposed.

And for the better understanding and perfecting of the *Idea*, I here present to the *Sovereign Princes and Estates of Europe*, for the Safety and Tranquility of it, I must recommend to their Perusals *Sir William Temple's Account of the United Provinces*; which is an Instance and Answer, upon *Practice*, to all the Objections that can be advanced against the Practicability of my Proposal: Nay, it is an Experiment that not only comes to our Case, but exceeds the Difficulties that can render its Accomplishment disputable. For there we shall find *Three Degrees of Sovereignities to make up every Sovereignty in the General States*. I will reckon them backwards: First, *The States General themselves*; then the *Immediate Sovereignities* that Constitute them, which are those of the *Provinces*, answerable to the *Sovereignities of Europe*, that by their *Deputies* are to compose the *European Dyet, Parliament, or Estates* in our Proposal: And then there are the several Cities of each *Province*, that are so many *Independent or Distinct Sovereignities*, which compose those of the *Provinces*, as those of the *Provinces* do compose the *States General* at the *Hague*.

But I confess I have the Passion to wish heartily, that the Honour of Proposing and Effecting so Great and Good a Design, might be owing to *England*, of all the Countries in *Europe*, as something of the Nature of our Expedient was, in Design and Preparation, to the Wisdom, Justice, and Valour, of *Henry the Fourth of France*, whose Superior Qualities raising

his Character above those of His Ancestors, or Contemporaries, deservedly gave Him the Stile of *Henry the Great*. For *He was upon obliging the Princes and Estates of Europe to a Politick Ballance*, when the *Spanish Faction*, for that Reason, contrived, and accomplished *His Murder*, by the Hands of *Raviliac*. I will not then fear to be censured, for proposing an *Expedient* for the Present and Future *Peace of Europe*, when it was not only the *Design, but Glory of One of the Greatest Princes that ever reigned in it*; and is found Practicable in the Constitution of one of the Wisest and Powerfulllest States of it. So that to conclude, I have very Little to answer for in all this Affair; because, if it succeed, I have so Little to deserve: For this *Great King's Example tells us it is fit to be done*; and Sir *William Temple's History* shews us, by a Surpassing Instance, *That it may be done*; and *Europe*, by her Incomparable Miseries, makes it now *Necessary to be done*: That my Share is only thinking of it at this Juncture, and putting it into the Common Light for the Peace and Prosperity of *Europe*.

Penn's work was entitled "An Essay towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe"; and in it he developed views which are now rapidly spreading among educated men, and out of which the Peace Congresses of Brussels, Frankfort and Paris have grown in our own day. In the first place, he inquired into the polity of nations,—the causes which led to war, the conditions necessary to peace. He found the great aim of statesmanship was to secure peace and order, and he demonstrated that these ends were to be obtained more readily and certainly by justice than by war. But the question occurred, How can justice be obtained for nations except by force? He reviewed the history of society, and he found that in the partially organized body-politic of early times individuals stood in the place of States. Every man assumed the right to be a judge in his own cause, every man claimed to be his own avenger. As society advanced from a ruder to a more civilized form, the separate individuals made laws and bound themselves to submit to certain general restrictions, more especially to give up the old rights of judging and avenging their own quarrels, in exchange for other rights and privileges not incompatible with the public good. Why, then, should not Europeans do for themselves that which Celts and Teutons, Franks and Scandinavians, had already done on a smaller scale? As England had its Parliament, France its States-General, Germany its Diet,—each in its sphere overruling private passion and curbing disorder,—so he proposed that Europe should have its Congress. Before this sovereign assembly he would have all disputes

between nation and nation decided without the vulgar interference of the sword, by the wisest and justest men, acting as the representatives of every State; its decision to be final, and its judgments enforced by the united power of Europe. After laying out the great features of his scheme, he considered the details and practical action of such a Congress. He referred to the designs of Henri Quatre in favor of a general league, and proved by the example of the United Provinces that the idea was far from being visionary, if princes and statesmen would only take the question up in earnestness of spirit. The proposal attracted much attention at the time; and it is now interesting to the friends of peace and international arbitration both as a piece of history and as a comfort to those who refuse to entertain any opinion which is only of recent origin.— *William Hepworth Dixon.*

The "Essay towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe" was published by Penn in the latter part of the year 1693-94, while war was raging on the continent. Penn sought to show "the desirableness of peace and the truest means of it" at that time and for the future. His essay consisted of a scheme for a general alliance or compact among the different States of Europe, whereby they should agree to constitute a "General Diet" or Congress of nations, wherein each should be represented by deputies, and all differences should be settled on equitable terms and without recourse to arms. The tract was printed twice in 1693. It is not included in the original folio edition of Penn's works, but finds place in one of the later editions. It is reprinted here from the *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, vol. vi.

The earliest life of Penn is that by Joseph Besse, prefixed to the folio edition of Penn's works published in 1726. There have been numerous biographies since, the most important of which are those by Thomas Clarkson, William Hepworth Dixon, and John Stoughton. The article in the "Dictionary of National Biography" is by J. M. Rigg; and this contains a very full and admirable bibliography, to which the special student is referred. Dixon, among the biographers, has the most to say concerning the "Essay towards the Peace of Europe." His passage referring to it is given above.

Penn's plan for the federation and peace of Europe, doubly interesting to us as the work of one whose relation to American history was so conspicuous, is noteworthy as the first essay of such an international character known to us which is free from every suspicion of ulterior motive and inspired purely by the love of humanity. The one great plan of earlier date is the "Great Design" of Henry IV. of France, to which Penn himself refers in his essay. The original account of this is in Sully's *Memoirs*. It is a matter of controversy how much this design was really Henry's; and those interested in the matter may find a careful discussion of it in Kitchin's "History of France," ii. 472. A most interesting and stimulating article based upon the "Great Design" is Edward Everett Hale's "The United States of Europe," first published in *Old and New*, 1871, and republished in *Lend a Hand*, July, 1896. The most famous and important modern essay on international arbitration and the federation of the world is Kant's "Eternal Peace," of which there are two good English translations, one by Morell, the other by Hastie, included in a little volume of translations of Kant's political essays, entitled "Kant's Principles of Politics."

PUBLISHED BY

THE DIRECTORS OF THE OLD SOUTH WORK
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